THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

TALK OF ERNEST BEVIN'S SURRENDER MAY well be premature, but even the most cautious follower of events in Israel must feel heartened at the enormous change that the past two weeks have brought. As Freda Kirchwey suggested in the last issue of *The Nation*, Mr. Bevin overreached himself in the episode of the R. A. F. planes and in the dispatch of troops to Aqaba. The reaction was more than he bargained for, not only in Tel Aviv but in Cairo, in Beirut, in Washington, and, above all, among his own Labor Party colleagues in London. The atmosphere has cleared to an extent few would have thought possible only a month ago. At Rhodes, Egyptian and Israeli military officials are struggling to achieve an armistice, with both sides displaying a marked eagerness for agreement, and similar negotiations are proceeding with the Lebanese. Informal talks between Transjordan and Israel are reported to have passed from the military to the Foreign Office level, and await only an Egyptian settlement to be formalized. In Washington, the first third of a $100,000,000 loan to Israel has been authorized by the Export-Import Bank, and there is good reason to believe that by the time this issue reaches its readers, the United States will have granted full recognition. In London, we have Mr. Bevin's long overdue but none the less welcome announcement that the 11,000 Jews held under shocking conditions in the internment camps of Cyprus are free to proceed to Israel. And as we go to press, word comes that the British Cabinet has voted to recognize the Jewish state.

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FOR THIS HAPPY CHANGE OF CLIMATE, AT least a share of the credit goes to President Truman, who, it appears, took an extremely firm stand in his talk with Sir Oliver Franks, the British Ambassador. In the light of all that has gone before, however, it is not amiss to suggest two serious inquiries. First, if a decisive position on the part of the United States can get such marked results now, why, in the light of our bi-partisan foreign policy, would it not have been just as effective a year ago, with all that such a course might have avoided in bloodshed and bitterness? And, second, are the British perhaps under the impression that, in return for the Cyprus liberation and the coming recognition, Israel may be expected to yield on the question of the Negev? We have no right to assume that this is the case, and we naturally prefer to believe that the President has simply converted the British to the American view—that is, that defense of the Suez Canal is not dependent on British domination of the Negev. But it is just as well to reassert the official American position that, in any case, neither our loan nor full recognition were to be made conditional on boundary changes unacceptable to Israel.

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THE NEW DELHI CONFERENCE OF ASIATIC countries proved one point beyond argument: from now on, the colonial powers will find it extremely difficult to pursue their old tactics of isolating a focus of rebellion and applying force quickly. It was the new feeling of solidarity among countries formerly called "backward" which made the conference so impressive. At first, Siam wanted to stay out in order to use its "independent course" as a bargaining point with the big powers, but public opinion forced it to change its mind at the last minute and hurriedly to dispatch an observer to New Delhi. In opening the conference, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru expressed the general feeling in these historic words: "Too long a submissive and dependent plaything of other countries, Asia will no longer brook any interference with its freedom." Compared with that firm declaration, the farewell speech delivered by the Dutch Premier, Willem Drees, on leaving Batavia for The Hague, sounded pathetically weak. He had nothing to say but to urge the world to curb its interest in Indonesia—a new attempt to extend to the present conflict the policy of non-intervention under which aggressors did so well during the thirties in China, in Ethiopia, and in Spain. The Dutch Premier's appeal for organized indifference will, we hope, be futile in at least one other place besides New Delhi—in the Security Council. The Asiatic conference has already made it impossible for the diplomats at Lake Success to go on discussing Indonesia in general terms. The very specific program of action contained in the resolution adopted by the conference at its last session and cabled to Trygve Lie obliges the Security Council to move fast. Otherwise, in spite of Nehru's wise warning against any attempt to act outside the authority of the United Nations, the people of Asia will turn more and more to the Asian bloc now in the making.

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THE SOUTHEAST HAS LONG BEEN THE poorest part of the nation, and fifteen years ago the Appalachian section of the Southeast was poorer than the rest of it. According to the fifteenth annual report of the TVA, the annual income per head in this region has risen from 40 to 60 per cent of the national average since 1933. Basic to this improvement has been the tenfold expansion of electrical output, which is now fifteen billion kilowatt hours annually. This has been made possible by low rates: TVA consumers use an average of 2,520 kilowatts apiece against a national average of 1,505, and the average rate in the valley is 1.57 cents against 3.03 in the nation. Yet the authority itself is making 4½ per cent on its net power investment, and the distributing companies and agencies are making 20 cents out of each dollar of revenue. But this is not all. Traffic on the river, now open to Knoxville, has increased eleven-fold; flood control has so minimized the effect of freshets that at least $13,000,000 of damage was saved last year alone; soil conservation has made great progress; large and small industries have moved into the region. Other parts of the country have benefited by increased supplies of fertilizer and other products as well as by larger markets for what they produce. All this has been done, not by a governmental bureaucracy bestowing benefits on the people, but by a release of initiative through local cooperation and decentralized regional planning. The general view of the interconnected problems which only a single regional authority could develop was indispensable; the execution and growth of the plan required the location of this authority among the people concerned, and their active participation in the endeavor. Other great regions in the nation should profit by this remarkable example.

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ONLY AN E. M. FORSTER, WRITING FROM some vantage point in future years, could do full justice to the intricate pattern of races and hatreds that underlay the brief but terrible riots in South Africa. But one fact stands clear. It is the "white" men of Premier Daniel F. Malan's government and, to a somewhat lesser degree, of Premier Smuts's government before it, who must bear the responsibility for South Africa's tragedy. For the Zulus who ran wild in Durban, Johannesburg, and Pietermaritzburg have been kept in disfranchisement, ignorance, and misery ever since the whites took over their country. And the Indians upon whom the Zulus wreaked misguided vengeance have themselves been kept in subjection by the whites who originally imported them to serve as coolies. There is good reason to believe that much of the hostility between these two unfortunate groups was deliberately fanned by their overlords, who dread the Negro masses and who have a score to settle with the Indians for bringing South Africa's condition

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to the attention of the United Nations. Look at the Indians, the Zulus are told; those alien shopkeepers and rack-renters squeeze the blood out of you! Watch out for the Zulus, the Europeans tell their Indian houseboys; next thing you know they'll be coming up out of the mines, moving into the cities, and asking for your jobs! The truth is, of course, that the whites—and especially the Afrikaaners, now in power, who hate everybody, including their countrymen of English descent—have always tried to maintain a feudal non-urbanized economy and a rigid statism run by and for themselves. This could only be done by keeping the "inferior races" underfoot. Now, if the millions of repressed South Africans cannot peacefully win their right to vote Malan and his kind out of office, the United Nations had best intervene before the sporadic violence of the past fortnight becomes tomorrow's bloody revolt.

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RECOGNITION OF THE MILITARY REGIMES in Venezuela and El Salvador hardly provides an auspicious start for Secretary Acheson's term in the State Department. Both governments are the result of vulgar officers' coups—again becoming a favorite sport in Latin America. From Venezuelan friends, whose names for obvious reasons must be withheld, we have received first-hand reports contradicting the assertions of the Caracas authorities that the situation there has been stabilized. On the contrary, they say, local governments under the direction of army officers acting as independent "caudillos" have been set up in various parts of the country. There is the "independent government" of "el litoral de la Guaira" under the command of a certain Major Mendoza, who on his own initiative arrests any person he dislikes. In the state of Zulia, one Casanova, another minor warlord, chief of the local garrison, also carries on independently. The central government, in turn, is preventing Venezuelans on the staff of the United Nations from leaving the country to take up their posts. Among those held are Señor Manuel Perez Guerrero, former Finance Minister under Gallegos, and Señor Héctor Santaella, appointed to the International Bank. None of them even belonged to the Partido de Acción Democrática that was ousted from power. The number of political prisoners exceeds one thousand, and opposition to the regime is general. In such a state of uncertainty, it would have been wise for Washington at least to delay recognition.

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TO WHAT EXTENT ARE AMERICAN CHURCH and charitable organizations parties to a conspiracy to evade the payment of city, county, state, and federal taxes? Of late years, private corporations have deeded a wide variety of property, including stores, plants, factories, and office buildings, to religious and charitable trusts, and have then taken back long-term leases for rentals less than the amount of the taxes previously paid. In this manner, an ever-lengthening list of valuable properties has been taken off the tax rolls in community after community. With every increase in tax rates, of course, the charitable impulse of the American business man is noticeably quickened. According to a recent report of the Interstate Association of Public Land Counties, this type of tax evasion has now been carried a step farther, with religious organizations buying hotels, saw mills, orchards, farms, ranches, and manufacturing plants, and using the tax-exemption privilege as a means of developing important revenues. It is, to be sure, difficult to define the point at which legitimate tax exemption ends and the abuse of the privilege begins, but several states are already undertaking this delicate task. Forrest Cooper, counsel for the Interstate Association, has suggested that the taxation of a property should be based, not on ownership, but on the use to which it is put. If a religious organization buys a business or accepts title to a plant and then operates it in competition with private tax-paying concerns, it is difficult to defend the claim for tax-exemption. Legislation aimed at preventing such abuses will be presented to the current session of the Oregon legislature, and other states are considering similar measures.

Chiang Steps Down

DEFEATED and dispirited, but with a characteristic dramatic flair, Chiang Kai-shek retired last week as Generalissimo and President of China, "to lessen the hardships of my people." As on two previous occasions when he retired to his native village of Fenghwa "to sweep the graves of [his] ancestors," he added to the political confusion caused by his action by carefully avoiding an outright resignation. In the past he always returned with renewed powers, but now there seems little doubt that his twenty-year career as ruler of China has ended. His great military machine, which only three years ago seemed so formidable, has fallen apart, chiefly through the blunders into which his vanity led him. The Kuomintang Party, built up largely by his political skill, has been split into many fragments. At the end, Chiang found himself deserted even by many of his closest friends, as Nanking's politicians sought frantically for a peace formula that would save their own skins.

But as Hu Shih is reported to have observed, the Kuomintang is finding it even more difficult to make peace than to make war. Chiang's New Year peace offer sounded like an ultimatum from a victorious general rather than a plea from one that had been thoroughly trounced. The Communists were bound to reject it. The Executive Yuan's more recent request for a cease-fire during peace negotiations has also been turned down, for similar reasons. For their part, the Kuomintang leaders

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are finding the Communist peace terms hard to swallow. Most if not all of them are apparently prepared to accept the Communists' demand for a coalition government from which Chiang and other high Kuomintang leaders would be excluded. Many are prepared to see the Communists exercise a dominant role in that coalition, and to put into practice, in part at least, the Communist program of political and economic reform. The chief stumbling-block, and the point upon which the Kuomintang peace delegation will argue longest, will be the Communists' demand for punishment of the whole long list of war criminals made public a few weeks ago. That the matter is subject to bargaining is indicated by the Communists' agreement to remove Fu Tso-yi's name from the list in accepting the surrender of Peiping. But they can hardly be expected to drop the names of Chiang, Ho Ying-chin, H. H. Kung, members of the C. C. clique, or any of the men who were primarily responsible for wrecking the 1946 truce agreement.

It would be dangerous to assume that the war in China can now be ended without further bloodshed. For the sake of the Chinese people, who have had to endure almost eighteen years of continuous warfare, an early settlement is devoutly to be desired. But while peace seems nearer than at any time in the past three years, it is by no means assured. With the retirement of Chiang, there has been a fragmentation of the power which he formerly possessed. Each provincial governor, each military commander, now feels free to act as he sees fit. Some of these leaders will undoubtedly follow Fu Tso-yi's example and seek a private peace with the Communists. Others, such as the Mohammedans on the northwest frontier and those whose names are high on the list of war criminals, may resist for months. It is even possible that Chiang Kai-shek may reenter the struggle from Fukien, Kwangtung, or Formosa. But it is now clear that such resistance can at best merely delay Communist conquest of the whole of China, with the possible exception of Formosa.

Most Americans will be greatly disturbed by the prospect of Communist domination over this ancient country with its four hundred and fifty million people. Many view it as new evidence of Moscow's aggressive tendencies. Those who know China best, however, are more cautious in their judgments. As John K. Fairbank pointed out recently in these pages,* the Chinese Communists have been successful because they worked with, and not against, the irresistible tide of social change that started in China a century ago with the Taiping rebellion. Because of the powerful hold of the landlord-merchant-scholar class on the machinery of government, the modernization of China has been painfully slow. Presumably, it will be speeded up under the Communists. Moreover, the Chinese Communists, for various reasons—some of them accidental—have accomplished their revolution with relatively little aid from Moscow. Now that they have been successful in winning control of the country through their own efforts, the Chinese Communist leaders are not likely to welcome Russian interference in their affairs—unless they are forced in that direction by an unfriendly West. For this reason, it seems fair to say that the extent to which China will pass into the Soviet orbit will be determined during the coming weeks in Washington, not in Moscow.

*Toward a New China Policy, *The Nation*, January 1.

A Crucial Decision

LAST Monday, the State Commissioner of Education received briefs and heard oral argument on the question of the banning of *The Nation*. Under scrutiny at that proceeding was not merely the right of this magazine to circulate in the New York City public schools but the role of education in the training of citizens for a free society. The Board of Superintendents has in effect told pupils in the city's schools that it will allow them to have no contact with ideas it considers objectionable. This policy is dangerously close to that of totalitarian states, and it was vigorously challenged by our attorneys as well as by the briefs *amicus curiae* submitted by the Ad Hoc Committee to Lift the Ban and by the American Civil Liberties Union.

On constitutional grounds, the attorneys for *The Nation* argued that the ban violated the guaranties of a free press, due process, and equal protection. In answer to the argument of the Board of Superintendents that censorship was not involved, since *The Nation* was still free to print what it pleased, our attorneys pointed out that freedom of the press, according to the Supreme Court, embraces the correlative right to unimpeded circulation.

Even if freedom of the press were not abridged, the ban would still be unconstitutional under the due-process clause, since there was no offer of a reasonable alternative to complete suppression, such as withdrawal of the two issues called objectionable. Further, the standards applied in judging the Blanshard series were not promulgated until several months after the articles appeared. Finally, with regard to the right to equal protection under the law, reference was made to articles on religion, certainly as controversial as those in *The Nation*, which have appeared in magazines still approved for school use.

It will be difficult, we believe, for the Commissioner, in the light of these arguments, to avoid ruling that library lists shall henceforth be advisory and not exclusive, thus reaffirming the right of students to freedom of inquiry. This will mean that students may have access in school libraries to responsible publications, such as *The Nation*, which deal seriously with issues, whether controversial or not, having relevance to their lives.

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Cold War Inaugural

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

PERHAPS the President had sound political reason for the tone and emphasis of his inaugural address. Perhaps he was telling Congress and the country that they need not be afraid the Truman Fair Deal carried any germs of communism or hints of compromise with "good old Joe." Perhaps he was trying to reassure those people, in and out of Congress, who see a "red" in every government clerk who worked for the Farm Security Administration, and by reassuring them to create an atmosphere favorable to his own quite radical legislative program. If this was the reason, it speaks badly for the state of the country. If not, then I see no excuse for a speech which devoted a third of its length to an attack on communism and the remainder to a justification of our post-war foreign policy and a series of new proposals designed to defeat Moscow's alleged aggressive intentions. One need not disagree with a single item in the President's indictment of communism—though it was, in fact, a highly colored description of that doctrine—to challenge the value of presenting it as the keynote of his new term in office. The speech was a new declaration of cold war, the more distressing because it was cloaked in the language of peace and democratic self-determination.

Aside from the provocative nature of the President's words, they betrayed an alarming indifference to the factors in every country that have created the very tensions to which he directed his comments. It is true that he advocated a "bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial programs available for the improvement" of undeveloped areas. How this program can be carried out as part of a security scheme that also calls for a firm adherence to E. R. P., the Truman Doctrine, an armed alliance with "freedom-loving nations," and the rapid rearming of the United States, I cannot quite see. Still less can I imagine linking all this to the big program of social advancement at home outlined in his first message to Congress. But even assuming the possibility of organizing and financing social and military security for the whole non-Communist world, I am struck by the President's failure to recognize any problems outside the range of arms and technology. In spite of his careful reference to the necessity of "co-operating" with our fellow-democrats in other lands, Mr. Truman in effect offered the world a home-spun version of the American Century.

Is this really what the "freedom-loving nations" need and want—American arms and machinery? Is this really the way to hold off the Communist advance? If it were, the problem would be huge but relatively simple. Unfortunately, our experience in Greece and in China has provided a lesson that Harry Truman should have been able to understand.

How far he and his Administration are from such understanding was indicated in a small item which appeared in the issue of the newspapers that carried the President's speech. It reported that James D. Zellerbach, our ECA representative in Italy, was opposing any general land distribution in order to prevent a lag in agricultural production. The item tells better than a volume of arguments what is wrong with American foreign policy: why we are losing the cold war over large areas of the earth's surface, how we are helping perpetuate the state of affairs that makes communism look like a panacea. Perhaps production would drop, at least temporarily in certain sections of Italy, if the land were distributed to individual farmers. If so, there would be fewer E. R. P. dollars available to spend on industrial and other supplies. From the point of view of Mr. Zellerbach, this calculation would be conclusive. But to the Italian landworker, still tied to a system largely feudal in structure and so inefficient as to deny him the bread to feed his children, Mr. Zellerbach's reasoning will sound both cold and thin. The peasant wants land. He wants an end to the system that holds him in virtual serfdom. He knows that Mr. Zellerbach has taken the side of the landowners who have been attacking bitterly even the moderate reforms urged by the Catholic government. And he could hardly be expected to turn a deaf ear to the Communists, who make land division the heart of their appeal to the peasants of Italy.

In Greece and China, in Spain and the Middle East and throughout the Soviet area, American policy has, either overtly or in effect, underwritten the interests of the small groups who stand to profit by preventing a revolution that is long overdue. Our most zealous attempts to improve these "underdeveloped areas" flounder in the mud of corruption and repression in which they are made.

Spring Peace Note

BY CLAUDE BOURDET

Paris, January 24

OLD Marcel Cachin's friendly speech in Parliament and the present tone of the French Communist press are most interesting. They seem to point toward a new "peace policy." But is it really new? The anti-Communist version is, naturally, that the U. S. S. R. wants to placate Western fears only to ruin the West by underground work through the Cominform. This is a very primitive view of things. It is well to remember that

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the French Communist Party is under the influence of Duclos and Thorez, both of whom have always been vigorously opposed to the drastic methods of the Cominform.

After the Polish meeting in the summer of 1947, Duclos, forced by the East to use brutal strike and sabotage tactics, told the Eastern Communists: "This means ruin to the Western parties." During the internal struggle in 1948 the majority of the party sided with Duclos and Thorez for appeasement; a minority, led by Fajon and perhaps Marty, wanted a class war. In the main the views of the majority prevailed. The coal strikes began quietly and orderly. People said, "This is Duclos's strike." The subsequent violence was probably caused by the combined action of the left wing, egged on by Eastern agents, and the extreme anti-Communist ministers, who thought this was the way to break communism. Actually the defeat of the working class proved that Duclos and Thorez were right in trying to avoid provocation.

Behind all this was the battle between the forces controlling Russia's heavy industry, which originated the Kremlin's tough policy, and those controlling its light industry, which favor a certain degree of cooperation with the West. Broadly speaking, this was a struggle between Moscow and Leningrad industrialists. Since 1946, it seems, heavy industry has prevailed, the results being refusal of Marshall Plan aid, the Czech coup, and the organization of a belt of Eastern states into a military and industrial buffer. This development was probably encouraged by the brutal American attitude exemplified in the Truman Doctrine and also by the current Russian theory that a depression in America is inevitable and that the United States is preparing for war in order to avoid the dreaded slump.

Thus Russia and its satellite states were severely rationed in order to insure the success of a five-year plan for heavy industry which now appears to be a partial failure. In the eastern zone of Germany the plan has bogged down completely, and the integration of Czechoslovakia has also failed to materialize. The influence of the heavy-industry group is declining, and light-industry circles are demanding aid and a changed attitude toward the West. The new treaty with Czechoslovakia seems to encourage that country to become a channel for consumer goods from the West. Since the Truman victory, moreover, the Russians may believe that pressure by the American working class will cause the Democratic Administration to resort to New Deal methods rather than the manufacture of armaments as a means of preventing a depression.

Prospects for a rapprochment between East and West are therefore brighter than they may appear, and French Communists may simply be anticipating such developments. It is also possible that the fall in the prices of farm products here has persuaded the Communists that the French government is about to gain an undeserved but real economic victory. In that event they would be unable to arouse the workers to a political fight, and violent opposition tactics would have to be momentarily given up.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Communists on Trial

Foley Square, New York, January 21

THE tight lines about the mouth of United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey may have nothing whatever to do with the case of the eleven Communist leaders he is prosecuting under the Smith act. But it would be readily understandable if they were a direct effect, because to judge from the first few days of the trial the government is in for a long ordeal, almost as trying for itself as for the defendants—and more trying still for Judge Harold R. Medina. It is apparent to anyone in the courtroom that the highly charged battery of defense attorneys has taken on the functions of the prosecution, prepared to impugn the government's motives, discredit the District Court, rake over the press, expose the stacking of juries, and in general raise the roof of the skyscraper courthouse in Foley Square.

In pursuit of these objectives the Communists' counsel launched the trial with a series of dilatory maneuvers which for more than a week prevented the selection of a single juryman. Just as a display of courtroom virtuosity the performance was memorable. The large police detail around the building, the supposed "intimidation" of defendants and counsel (imperceptible to the naked eye), the physical limitations of the courtroom, the "unclean hands" of the government—all these and other grievances, real and alleged, were introduced, expounded at length, batted from one lawyer to another, and made the basis for motions, orations, requests, exceptions, and —blessed relief—innumerable recesses. On their expected failure came the direct plea for a continuance, arguments that the defendants would be wronged if forced to stand trial without their leader, William Z. Foster, whose heart condition made it impossible for him to appear, and, finally, the attack on the jury system obtaining in the Southern District of New York.

The resourcefulness of the defense lawyers in these opening skirmishes was equaled only by the aggressiveness of their manner and the seemingly deliberate attempt to ruffle the feathers of the judge, who, looking like Howard Lindsay in "Life with Father," displayed

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only good humor and a patience that bordered on the indulgent. No ruling from the bench was accepted as final, but rather as a signal for further argument on the ground that the court had obviously failed to appreciate the point being made. Repeatedly the lawyers taunted the judge with charges of bias. On more than one occasion Richard Gladstein, the brash attorney for Robert Thompson and Gus Hall, resumed argument after an interruption from the bench with such remarks as "Of course if it isn't going to impress you . . ." and "Has Your Honor made up his mind before hearing the point?" The same attorney even indulged in a bit of judge-baiting that took the form of cross-examination. "You've been on this bench a year and a half, Judge," he remarked in reference to a document setting forth the court's method of impaneling juries. "How is it that *you* didn't know about this?" And on another occasion it was asserted as a simple matter of fact that "justice in this court is corrupt."

While it may be assumed that much of this maneuvering was tactical—intended to delay, to goad the court into committing reversible errors, and to make political capital of the trial—the question concerning the selection of juries would seem to be very real and very relevant. The method in the Southern District of New York appears to involve heavy reliance on such upper-crust lists as Poor's "Directory of Directors," "Who's Who in New York," the "Social Register," and even the names submitted by the Federal Grand Jury Association, a private group which the defense contends has specifically campaigned against trade unions, low-rent housing, and the Communist Party. At its annual dinner in 1947 the association is reported to have enjoyed as its guest speaker the Honorable J. Parnell Thomas, soon to face federal jurymen in other circumstances. However reliable the evidence on these matters, the court's senior judge, John Clark Knox, who established the system, gave substance to the charges in 1945 when he testified before the House Judiciary Committee as follows:

> I am told from time to time that the selection of jurors should be a democratic process and that persons who serve in New York are hand-picked. In answer to this indictment I cannot do otherwise than admit my guilt. Nevertheless, unless restrained by an authority to which I must yield, jurors in my district will continue to be hand-picked, and it will be done with care.

BUT the government's real trouble, it seems to me, is hardly a question of the harassment it may have to endure at the hands of some unusually crafty and determined lawyer, or even of a jury system that may lose it the case without regard to its merits. The trouble lies much deeper—in the questionable decision to embark on this prosecution in the first place.

Consider the row the government has chosen to hoe. Not even the United States Attorney, I think, hopes to show that the Communist Party is plotting and planning to march on Washington now or in the foreseeable future, to seize the Capitol and the White House, and to oust Harry Truman in order to make a Eugene Dennis the Bolshevik boss of a Soviet America. At most he hopes to show that the Communist leaders conspired to "teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the government . . . by force and violence," that they did this by re-forming the Communist Party in 1945 and by plotting to teach the "principles of Marxism-Leninism," and that in so doing they violated the Smith act, a law of doubtful constitutionality.

In one of the two previous applications of this law —the prosecution of eighteen Trotskyists in 1941—the Supreme Court, to the delight of the Communists, refused to review the case, but it does not follow that the course the court took in war time would be the one adopted now. Should the District Court jury bring in an acquittal or should the higher courts reverse a conviction, even on the ground that the jury was improperly chosen, the Communists, apparently cleared, would be in a stronger position than they have ever been.

If, on the other hand, the defendants are convicted and their convictions are upheld, the cause of their party will by no means be extinguished. On the contrary. It will be carried on either underground or through the apparatus of a "new" party, endowed with a sweet-sounding name and a new set of leaders. Nor need it be vulnerable to the same type of prosecution. The Marxist classics would no doubt continue to be read—nobody has yet suggested that they be burned—just as they are read now. And a ban on the open advocacy of force and violence would scarcely make a difference, since it is highly improbable that such advocacy is at all useful to a Communist Party in this country and at this time.

The chances are that the whole question of "force and violence" is an outmoded approach to the problem of the Communists. It suggests, first, that they are seriously concerned with a revolutionary overthrow in this country, which is probably moonshine; and, second, it shows no insight into the real methods of totalitarian movements backed by aggressive dictator states. Twice in the past decade Czechoslovakia has fallen prey to such conquerors, and in neither case was there force and violence in the sense of the Smith act. Not revolution but slavish service to another state would seem to me to be the real problem raised by the American Communists. To the extent that they appear to be a danger in that respect, the remedy would lie not in attempts at thought-control, but in the rigid application of penalties for specific violation of law; in counter-propaganda backed by genuine democratic achievement rather than in feeding conspiracy through suppression.

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Truman's Big Parade

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, January 24

IF Inauguration Day could have come and gone without the ominous and belligerent inauguration speech, it might have turned out to be one of the brightest and most carefree days of American history. Even so, it was a day to remember; Washington has never seen a better show.

Jackson's inauguration in 1829 still symbolizes the defeat of a federalist aristocracy by a rising popular electorate with strong frontier overtones. It has become fixed in the national memory as an event of permanent significance largely by a few sharp phrases written down by eyewitnesses. Brawls, drinking, and knife play marked the White House reception. A visiting Englishwoman saw a man stand with muddy boots on a satin-covered chair. A contemporary rival of Jackson's wrote that "King Mob" had taken over the White House. Hardly an American history book since then has failed to include King Mob and the satin chair.

The second Truman inauguration was in no sense the rout of an aristocracy by a mob. The class differences represented by the rival parties are not so sharply defined in our era. The Republicans who go to parades and inaugurations cannot be very different people from their Democratic counterparts. And the setting of last week's affair, the elaborate white-painted stadium before the Capitol, was built by a Republican Congress in the expectation that Thomas E. Dewey would use it. The Truman inaugural speech, making no reference to domestic issues, raised the bi-partisan cold war to the status of a fixed and irreversible national commitment.

There is, nevertheless, a real difference between the parties. It was expressed in important political terms by the President's domestic message of two weeks ago. And this difference gave the inauguration pageantry its real significance, over and beyond the razzledazzle and ballyhoo, and despite the elevation of the cold war to a permanent place in our history.

The Republicans would have used the same stadium, and many of the same bands would have marched in the parade. But no show would ever have jumped up off the ground for Dewey as this one did for Truman. The President was the main event from start to finish, and he gloried in it. He spent nineteen hours neck deep in the celebration. He brought his old battery mates to the forefront of the show, and obviously for no other reason than that they meant something to him as friends, as individuals. Even when he stepped to the microphone and launched into a speech which one sensed might mark a moment of high tragedy for the nation and the world, his utter sincerity, his belief in the righteousness of his proposals, somehow gave weight to his words. Warmth, good humor, plebeian simplicity radiated from him. That was his distinctive quality, something quite different from the impression Roosevelt created. Plain people probably felt a little closer to Truman, felt they knew him better. It was not a question of thinking him the greater man; it was a matter of having more in common with a man who spoke with a Midwest twang and in this speech pronounced maintenance "maintainance." But for this very reason it was hard to feel, as people always felt with Roosevelt, the comforting assurance that "at least one first-rate mind [was] brooding upon our affairs," as Churchill once remarked of Cripps.

President Truman's big parade had all the clanking armor and marching legions of a Roman triumph, but it left the impression of a strictly civilian performance. One swivel-hipped drum majorette and one peg-leg veteran with a live skunk on a chain will demilitarize the longest parade, and there were plenty of such features sandwiched between the tanks, the troops, and the cadet corps. Seven miles long, the parade filed through Washington for almost four hours, with a five-star general at its head and an old calliope of P. T. Barnum bringing up the rear. Its floats symbolized many of the splendid and vivid and some of the ignoble themes of New World history. Cotton, tobacco, oil, mining, Pilgrims, Revolutionary soldiers, Southern planter society, the Spanish landowners of the old West—all had a place in the procession. An officially organized posse from a Kansas county evoked memories of a frontier that has vanished in the recent past, leaving its heritage of both freedom and lawlessness. Dakota Indians in war-bonnets rode behind an army anti-aircraft radar unit. They were the descendants—perhaps the grandsons or great-grandsons—of tribesmen who had worn the war paint and feathers in deadly seriousness and who had fought the last battles of a Stone Age culture against the superior material civilization of Europe and the Industrial Age. The last of those frontier battles took place in the 1880's, within the memory of many men still alive. But an amazing technological era has dawned in the meantime, and the same army which recently fought horsemen and bowmen, and sometimes met local defeats, now has the atom bomb and is seriously engaged on an "earth-satellite vehicle project" to find means for sending free-floating radar stations into the orbit of the moon.

It was a show that Barnum would have appreciated. And it stemmed from America's life and America's past. I wondered whether the top-hatted diplomats who attended, especially men like Soviet Ambassador Panyushkin, might not misunderstand it. Whatever the eye and the mind are trained to look for in a foreign country,

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they can find in a mass demonstration like this. The Soviet observers probably saw a great deal of bourgeois confusion and spiritual degeneration, just as our diplomatic trained seals and many of our journalists usually manage to see signs of weariness in the faces of Russians at the great events in Red Square. Perhaps one reason the diplomatic and military élites of both systems seem willing to risk a war today is their total inability to penetrate to the real values and meanings in the lives of the plain people in the other country. In a way that had nothing to do with the military units in the parade, and in a way that Mr. Panyushkin would probably be the last to understand, the parade was a demonstration of national might and war-making capacity as awesome as watching troops file past the Kremlin for ten hours. Yet somehow, despite the evidence of the past war, the Kremlin leadership drives on in the apparent belief that it is arrayed against a decadent nineteenth-century bourgeoisie. At the same time President Truman's naive and ominous misstatements about the Communist challenge show that our own élite, especially the Pentagon mentalities in his circle who helped write the address, are still fighting frontier wars against the savages, oblivious of what war will really mean in an age when both sides may ultimately be firing weapons from radar stations on the moon.

"Full Disclosure": Dangerous Precedent

BY ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

[*A little more than a year ago Morris L. Ernst, who as lawyer and author has fought throughout his career for the strengthening of civil liberties, publicly advocated "full disclosure" as a means of uncovering "subversive" organizations of the left or right. A similar suggestion had been embodied in the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, which was issued a few weeks before Mr. Ernst's declaration and which he, as a member of the committee, helped to draw up. Both plans recommend the enactment of federal and state legislation requiring political and other pressure groups to disclose the names of their officers, their sources of income, their disbursements, and their purposes. In this way, Mr. Ernst held, the United States might protect itself from subversion, actual or potential, without doing injury to the civil rights of individuals who might have joined a suspect group in all innocence. Mr. Ernst stated that as a natural consequence of this procedure, organizations found to be "subversive" would be avoided by the average honest citizen.*

"Full disclosure" has been opposed in several quarters, but perhaps the most articulate opposition has come from Arthur Garfield Hays, also an attorney and a long-time battler for civil liberties. Here, as the first in a new series of articles on the civil rights of Americans today, we present Mr. Hays's arguments. In an early issue we shall print a reply by James Lawrence Fly, former Assistant Attorney General and Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission.]

THE President's Committee on Civil Rights proposes federal and state enactment of legislation "requiring all groups which attempt to influence public opinion to disclose pertinent facts about themselves through systematic registration procedures." This is urged on the ground that such legislation would strengthen freedom of expression and opinion. The theory is that it may become necessary to curtail free speech unless we can be sure that the public knows from whom and from what sources ideas emanate. Thus we are to judge ideas by the people who advocate them.

This disclosure proposal is plausible. Why should not everyone's associations, opinions, connections, and financial contributions be known to the state at all times? Why should not citizens be honest and brave enough to be willing to accept the consequences of their opinions and associations? One answer is that all men are not heroes, that the ordinary citizen may well refrain from joining a movement in which he believes if his connection with it might cause him personal injury or lessen the esteem in which he is held in his community. There is such a thing as intellectual or personal privacy, where one chooses the time for confession. A desire to influence public opinion is not important enough to most men to persuade them to take chances of inquiry as to whether their ideas are heretical or orthodox. The result of disclosure would be that unpopular ideas or causes would be supported only by those few who put ideas above personal interest. No one would be forbidden, of course, to say what he chose, but he would have to be prepared to take the consequences. The practical effect of this would be to abridge free speech. Gone is the idea, "Let 'em talk. This is a free country, ain't it?"

Disclosure implies trust in the government not to abuse its powers. But it is difficult to maintain a trusting attitude when, as at present, the hysterical theory of guilt by association is officially approved. The fact is that we are tending toward various kinds of indirect censorship, one of the most potent of which is imposed by instilling fear in those who would express themselves frankly—fear of losing social, political, or economic standing.

One could cite innumerable examples of how this

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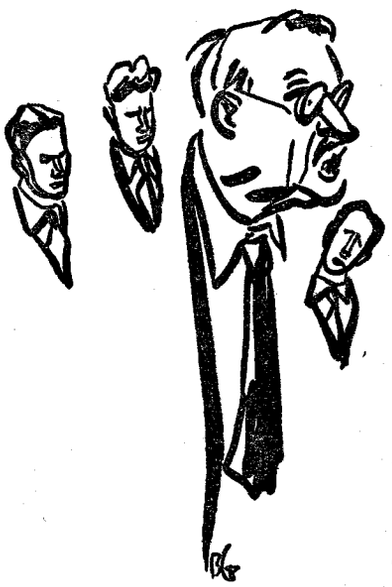
registration proposal would stop people from getting together and exercising their right of free association and opinion. The mere fact that people would have to register or submit to red tape of any kind would make them hesitant. People might well be fearful that an organization might not take all the required legal steps and so decide to join nothing in order to avoid any possibility of trouble. Some people hate to go on lists which are registered with the government. The publicity of association with one organization may mean embarrassingly insistent solicitation by related groups.



An idea should stand or fall on its own merits. Good ideas may have unpopular backing. The New Deal was not less desirable, or more desirable, because it was backed, for their own reasons, by Communists. New or radical ideas have difficulty enough getting started, and legislation of this kind would be a curb on the growth of any but conservative or "respectable" thoughts or movements.

If all the Abolitionists in the early days had been obliged to come out into the open, their cause might never have progressed very far. The risks were too great for disclosure.

Other illustrations: In the fight against Mayor Frank Hague in Jersey City one of the contributors to the campaign was the principal of a high school; some were small business men. If there had been disclosure legislation in New Jersey, these men could have contributed only at considerable personal risk.

An organization is formed to influence public opinion by stating facts about Russia or Germany as some people see them, or perhaps to send food packages to Russia or Germany. But who, particularly in a small town, wants to risk being called pro-Russian or pro-German?

Police states find disclosure helpful. If the answers to questionnaires indicate heresy, you throw a man into jail. Of course we wouldn't do that in the United States —not as a starter. We merely want information, and not much information at that; so that if a man talks in association with others or engages in a public movement his connections would be disclosed immediately. Thus if he is mixed up in "bad" causes, or with "bad" company in good causes, he can be socially ostracized, or lose his job, his clients, his customers, or his friends.

It is surprising to me that men who believe in liberty, and this of course applies to the President's Committee, should recommend rather than oppose a proposal which, directly or indirectly, would discourage people from expressing themselves. May I suggest that when a particular subject becomes important the government now has the power to investigate and to find out the facts? The proponents of disclosure legislation say that investigation is dangerous because the government would act only against unpopular groups, and these are the very groups which disclosure legislation would protect! The curious argument is that by giving people full knowledge so that they can act against minority groups we are protecting minorities.

ANYHOW, what is meant by systematic registration procedures? Are people who join groups which attempt to influence public opinion merely to turn in their names and state their contributions or connections with any cause? But why, if the principle is sound, should we not go much farther? Why shouldn't the government also inquire as to whether the people interested in a cause are white or black, Jews or Gentiles, adulterers or puritans, what their business is, how much they make, what they have in the bank, the other causes in which they are interested, what newspapers, books, and magazines they read? Governmental inquiries are always simple at first. They become more and more complicated, however, as the government grows more and more greedy for information.

The time comes when the information secured leads to further inquiry. If the federal and state governments can do this, why not local governments? Why not registration for everybody in every town, village, or hamlet by local ordinance? Before we know it, we will have built up a Gestapo or an NKVD in the United States so that the affairs, business connections, and opinions of all citizens are matters of public record.

It must be borne in mind that the question involved is not one of a day or a year or a generation. We must be wary of legislation which little by little curbs citizens by an indirect censorship. And here James Madison's warning, delivered in 1785, is apropos:

> It is proper to take alarm at the first experiment upon our liberties. . . . The freemen of America did not wait until usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle and they avoided the consequences by denying the principle. We revere this lesson too much soon to forget it.

But how are we going to expose the Communists, the Gerald L. K. Smiths, and others who are deceiving us—if they are? How are we going to "get" the banker in a small town who subscribes $50,000 to Gerald L. K.

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Smith? If he feels strongly enough, probably he would just make a gift to Gerald L. K. Smith, or persuade others to contribute. And is there any reason why, in order to get after the Gerald L. K. Smiths and other vicious groups, we should subject all minority groups to publicity which may bring criticism and obloquy?

The apparent purpose is disclosure. The real purpose, and the only intelligent purpose, is destruction. We know what Gerald L. K. Smith stands for, but we want to know who is behind his so-called propaganda movement. Why? So that we can "get" the others, pillory them, or keep them quiet. We know what the Communists stand for. Our fears and hates embroider and exaggerate what we know. We have indicted some of them, not for what they have done but for what they advocate. But some of them are not disclosed. How, then, are we going to punish them for their heresy? How are we going to "get" them?

THE proponents of this legislation say there are ample legal precedents for disclosure. Of course, that would be no reason for establishing other precedents. On analysis, however, the so-called precedents are non-existent. The proponents refer to tax laws. These require disclosures necessary to government in the administration of the revenue laws. Information is required by the government in connection with mailing privileges, but this is in connection with government subsidies through cheap mailing rates. Information is required of radio stations. But radio wave lengths are limited by natural factors, and an applicant must show ability to serve the public interest. Reference has been made to the "lobbying" laws. The purpose of disclosure there is to minimize the threat of improper and possibly illegal pressure on legislators. Then we have the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Certainly the reasons for this have little relevance to laws dealing with the opinions and associations of citizens. We have the so-called Klan law, which requires disclosure of facts connected with an organization which binds its members by oath. The United States Supreme Court (*New York ex rel Bryant* v. *Zimmerman,* 278 U. S. 63 [1928]) upheld the constitutionality of this law on the ground that the Klan was shown to be an oath-bound criminal organization. This is scarcely a precedent for proposed statutes which would affect *all* organizations alike.

There is grave doubt whether such far-reaching legislation would be constitutional. The case of *Thomas* v. *Collins* (323 U. S. 516 [1945]) involved a requirement that a labor-union organizer register in order to make a public speech. The Supreme Court said that this

> would seem generally incompatible with an exercise of the rights of free speech and free assembly. Lawful public assemblies, involving no element of grave and immediate danger to an interest the state is entitled to protect, are not instruments of harm which require previous identification of the speakers. . . . If the exercise of the rights of free speech and free assembly cannot be made a crime, we do not think this can be accomplished by the device of requiring previous registration as a condition for exercising them. . . . If one who solicits support for the cause of labor may be required to register as a condition to the exercise of his right to make a public speech, so may he who seeks to rally support for any social, business, religious, or political cause.

WHAT danger necessitates legislation which would put not only ideas but those who espouse them in a goldfish bowl? Of course, the Communist danger. Probably the worst thing the Communists do today is to persuade us to forget American and approve totalitarian principles and methods.

What is the fear? Is it that the people of the United States are so simple and gullible that they must be protected against themselves even in the realm of thought, speech, and association? Are they so grossly deceived that they need this protection? Today the government, through its police agencies, has power to make investigations where necessary. That is what the FBI, the police, the grand juries are for.

After all, the basis of democratic philosophy is that the people are to be trusted. They have earned that confidence through a long history, and this in spite of those who in times of crisis—and there always seems to be a crisis—would promote legislation in order to make us "safe." We are now asked to do something to protect people from "bad" ideas, thus drawing the distinction between "bad" ideas and "good" ideas. They must be protected by knowing who are the supporters of bad ideas, and thus save society from corruption and contamination. But freedom includes the right to be corrupted and contaminated in the realm of ideas.

I know that society today is more complicated than it was when New England was governed largely by town meetings. I know conditions have changed. But I still believe that the spirit of democracy should encourage all expressions of opinion, good or bad, and that those who believe in civil liberties should not promote legislation that would tend, even indirectly, to curb free speech.

I cannot refrain from using the often-quoted statement of Justice Jackson in *West Virginia* v. *Barnette* ([1943], 319 U. S. 624):

> If there is one fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein.

The views, opinions, speech, associations, or connections of a citizen are none of the government's business unless he violates the law.

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Del Vayo—Moscow Talks Peace

LAST summer in these pages I expressed my doubts about the success of the Marshall Plan. It was a thorny subject, for the Communist press all over the world had concentrated its heavy guns on the plan, and anyone who criticized it, even from a different angle, ran the risk of seeming to follow the party line. However, I felt it the duty of an honest reporter writing from Europe to point out to Americans that their daily press gave them an over-optimistic impression of the way the Marshall Plan was working. To support my position I tried to persuade some of the European economic experts with whom I had been discussing the matter to express their views in writing. But no one who could be regarded as a neutral authority felt inclined to tell America, which was providing his country with sorely needed dollars, that the E. R. P. was full of holes.

Eventually I went to Geneva to talk with Gunnar Myrdal, whose position as head of the U. N. Economic Commission assures him a large and attentive hearing in this country. Myrdal was most outspoken in declaring that the problem of European recovery could not be solved without the fullest possible restoration of trade between Western and Eastern Europe. He also told me that his experience in running the Economic Commission had convinced him that it was possible to work in this field with the Russians. But he too felt that his official status prevented him from saying anything about the Marshall Plan that might be resented in Washington.

That was ten months ago. Today one need only open the American papers that most persistently sounded the note of optimism to find such criticism of the Marshall Plan as only a few of us formerly dared to utter. Doubt about its results is spreading. In my opinion this is one of the most important events of recent months and is bound to have an immense effect on international developments.

I will give two illustrations of the change in opinion. On January 14 William Philip Simms, Scripps-Howard foreign editor, said: "Those who believe the four-year $18,000,000,000 Marshall Plan will of itself put Europe on its feet are in for a bitter awakening. The experts who last year said it would do that are saying it won't. Instead, they say the United States faces further enormous sacrifices to prevent Europe's collapse." James P. Warburg, liberal economist and author, exposed what he called the basic contradiction between E. R. P. and the Truman Doctrine at a recent conference on "The Marshall Plan and Western European Union." American foreign policy, he said, had been "galloping off in two different directions." The New York *Times* also, though more cautiously, revealed serious anxiety in an editorial commenting on the sensational statement by Robert Majorlin, secretary general of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, warning that a European collapse might occur in 1952.

It is in the light of this increasing skepticism that Moscow's new peace offensive becomes so significant. American experts on Russia have predicted that the Kremlin would listen to reason only when the Marshall Plan had shown its power to put Europe on its feet again and the Soviets felt hard pressed on every front. Actually Moscow has begun to talk peace when just the contrary is happening; when the Marshall Plan is facing a crisis of confidence; when the armies of Mao Tse-tung are entering the suburbs of Nanking; when half of Asia and part of Africa have been set on fire by the sparks of colonial revolution; when the American policy of support for Greek reaction is completely bankrupt; in a word, at a moment when Russia, if not winning, is certainly gaining ground in the cold war.

The first external manifestation of Moscow's new line was the conciliatory speech of the veteran Communist leader, Marcel Cachin, at the opening session of the French National Assembly. I say the first *external* manifestation, for Soviet willingness to reach an agreement on Berlin was made clear beyond question in conversations held at Paris during the Security Council meetings, as Señor Bramuglia, the Argentine member, said at the time to everyone who talked with him. Cachin's speech was followed by the speech of Togliatti, Italian Communist leader, in the municipal theater of Bologna. At the same time *Cahiers du Communisme* (Paris), the periodical always used to underline abroad a decision of the Kremlin, developed the chief Soviet thesis—that "war is not inevitable," a point made at least three months earlier when Manuilsky strongly refuted Bevin's charge from the U. N. rostrum that Lenin and Stalin believed war between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union to be unavoidable. The latest bit of evidence was the greeting to the American people published in *U.S.S.R.*, the Soviet embassy's information bulletin, on the eve of Mr. Truman's inauguration.

Moscow is talking peace, and I believe it will continue to talk peace for a long time. It is leading from strength, not weakness, but this does not mean that the move is merely a propaganda gesture to be met by panic or cynical dismissal. The Russians want peace and now feel in a good position to bargain for it. So something new must be invented to deal with a new situation. It is not enough to demand, as did Under Secretary Lovett in his last official statement before leaving the Department of State: "Instead of words, let us have deeds; let the Russians begin by raising the blockade of Berlin." The Russians may or may not lift the blockade, but they will undoubtedly buttress their words with new specific proposals looking toward a settlement not only in Germany and Austria but elsewhere as well. They will continue to insist that it is possible, and profitable, for the United States to do business with Russia and thus save some of the billions now being sunk in the E. R. P. That a peace offensive along these lines will eventually bring a changed attitude in Washington I have little doubt, in spite of Mr. Truman's strong language in his inaugural address.

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The Fall of Peiping

BY ANDREW ROTH

Peiping, January 24

ON Saturday night the lights came on again in Peiping, showing that the city had passed from war to peace. The Communists have taken it virtually undamaged, and this ancient intellectual and cultural center of all China will probably become their capital.

For over a year Peiping had been a Nationalist island in a sea of Communist-held territory. For forty days it had been besieged. On December 14 Communist troops moved to within a mile of the old walls and cut all overland connections, including the road to the nearby port of Tientsin. After their capture of the main airport the city was dependent on two perilously small new airfields within the walls.

When I took off from Shanghai on December 19 in one of the last planes to run the blockade, Tientsin was already in Communist hands. All China was wondering whether the Communist armies would take Peiping by assault and destroy its historic and beautiful old buildings or reach an agreement with General Fu Tso-yi, commander of the so-called "North China Bandit Suppression Headquarters."

After our plane had crossed seven hundred miles of Communist-held North China at five thousand feet, we came down over Peiping in tight circles to avoid the anti-aircraft fire of the Communist troops besieging the city. Crew and passengers held their breaths as we landed, for we had to skim over an inner wall and used up the whole small runway before the plane was brought to a halt.

Within the city the people were fairly calm, despite occasional shells, the growing scarcity of food, insufficient water, and lack of electricity. The Communists had captured the power-house, and although they offered to continue supplying the city with electric power, General Fu refused, unwilling to allow the Communists to gain a propaganda victory. The most obvious signs of the city's straits were the gangs of civilians with shovels over their shoulders going to dig trenches or to clear a longer airfield within the city. From the fourteen gates in the city wall the odorous "honeycarts" were still carrying out night soil to fertilize Communist-held farmlands.

The greatest activity in Peiping this last week has been that of about a dozen foreign and three dozen Chinese newspapermen trying to verify the hundreds of contradictory rumors about peace negotiations. A delegation of leading citizens went out to treat with the Communists, but this was obviously a means of allowing the citizens to let off steam, for General Fu was the only man with power to ask for peace. It was clear that surrender was near on January 21, when the heads of the Kuomintang Secret Service Organization hurriedly departed.

Peace negotiations were handled by Fu's second in command, Teng Pao-shan, who slipped across the lines on January 12 and negotiated for five days with the Communist general, Lin Pi-ao. The Communists knew that they had in Fu a tough opponent who was popular with his troops and capable of putting up a good fight. He had shown his ability when he had thrown them out of Kalgan last year. Furthermore, his troops had dug in behind extensive trenches. After their capture of Kalgan and Tientsin the Communists could use about 300,000 troops to storm Peiping, but they would certainly incur losses and, perhaps more important, be censured by the millions of Chinese who love Peiping above all other cities. In retreating to Peiping Fu had ensconced himself in a priceless vase in the knowledge that anyone who struck at him would have to destroy the vase.

Chiang Kai-shek

When his delegates brought back the Communist terms Fu was favorably impressed, but he balked at one demand. He wanted the troops of his two armies to remain under his command. The Communists refused to allow any more private armies and yielded to him only to the extent that a month will elapse before Fu's command is reorganized as part of the Communist-led People's Liberation Army.

Fu did not want to surrender before Nanking capitulated, but the way was cleared on January 21 when Chiang Kai-shek stepped down. The following day Fu's headquarters announced that he and the Communists had

ANDREW ROTH is The Nation's *correspondent in China. He will be sending regular dispatches from that troubled area.*

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signed a thirteen-point agreement. Cease-fire orders followed immediately, and all work on military fortifications was stopped. Peiping is now governed by a joint governing council whose members have been appointed by Fu and the Communists. The security of the city is being guarded by police and by supplementary troops from both armies. All governmental, educational, financial, cultural, and business institutions have been asked to continue as usual; the safety of their personnel is guaranteed, but they are warned against inflicting damage. The National government's gold currency is to remain in circulation until exchange regulations are promulgated. The life and property of foreigners and foreign diplomats are guaranteed. Local newspapers are allowed to carry on as before for the time being. Religious freedom and the protection of ancient relics are assured. Postal and telegraphic services are to continue as before. The agreement ends with an announcement that "people of all walks of life are requested to carry on as usual and avoid all public panic."

Peace did not come immediately to Peiping. After the cease-fire a group of diehard Kuomintang officers apparently ordered troops to fire into the city. On the day after the proclamation of peace I drove through the city gate that leads to Yenching. Inside the gatehouse a white space on the wall marked the spot where a picture of Chiang had hung the day before; a picture of Sun Yat-sen remained. Many nationalist troops outside the city had not heard of the peace. Road blocks still barred bridges, and we had to jeep across a frozen stream to penetrate no man's land. After we had gone a quarter of a mile, a shot fired in the air brought us to a halt. A young Communist officer wearing a padded yellow uniform without insignia smilingly explained that he had called to us but we had not heeded him. When we said that we wanted to go farther into Communist-held territory he took us across frozen fields to local headquarters in the town of Hai-tien. There we saw long wooden ladders on rollers which had been constructed to scale the walls of Peiping. While we waited for the desired permission, a surly young Communist officer wearing an American-made parka made it clear he had no liking for Americans. After a while we were told that we could not go on but that in two days the road would be open for all.

As Communist troops and political workers dribble into Peiping, they are receiving a fairly warm welcome. Students and professors have become strongly pro-Communist in the last year, more out of complete disgust with the Nanking government than out of love for the Communist program. Many people are glad to see the Communists take over the city because they believe it will now be made the national capital instead of Nanking, which has "usurped" this role for the last twenty years. But most citizens welcome the Communists' victory because they think it means the civil war is nearing its end. Skeptical, worldly-wise Peiping is not yet sure it will prefer the Communists' "brave new world" to its old world, but it is certain that it prefers peace to war.

"Sauve Qui Peut"

Shanghai, January 15

THE favorite pastime in China today is "crossing over." Recently a Kuomintang secret-service man is reported to have buttonholed a liberal critic of the Kuomintang and said: "I am the man assigned to spy on you. It isn't a nice job, but my family has to live. I have been kind to you. There are lots of things you have done which I haven't put in your dossier. I hope you will remember that in the future." This spy was trying to cross over from the losing to the winning side.

Social functions these days are used to further "crossing over." People search their memories for friends, classmates, and relatives on the Communist side to whom they can show their devotion. Mme Sun Yat-sen, widow of the founder of the Chinese Republic, has remarked on the number of people who, after years of shunning her, have suddenly decided to call and "pay their respects."

Traditionally the Chinese think it silly to be a "good loser" when you can be one of the winners. One of the men who have strongly advised Nanking to talk peace with the Communists has been Marshal Yen Hsi-shan of Shansi. This wizened old man is the most cunning, unscrupulous, and long-lived of the provincial war lords. He has retained virtually continuous control of Shansi province since 1911 by helping every winning side to win and every losing side to lose.

In 1937, after the Japanese attacked China, he allowed a Japanese representative to stay on in his capital. In 1938 he decided that the Japanese would not bargain but would attempt to occupy his province; so he turned against them and allied himself with the Kuomintang and the Communists, both of whom were then fighting the Japanese. By 1940 he thought the Japanese would win and was "embarrassed" by having strong Communist armies fighting the Japanese in his province. After the United States entered the war, he was not so sure, but he formed a "non-aggression" pact with the Japanese under which they held some lines against the Communist Eighth Route Army and he others. He then persuaded the Kuomintang to pay him so that he would not join either the Japanese or the Communists. Yen now poses for pictures by *Life* photographers and shows the poison capsules which he and his family intend to swallow before surrendering to the Communists. Simultaneously he recommends dickering with the Communists over their peace demands.

Yen and other old-style provincial war lords are likely

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to be less successful in "crossing over" than were the fairly large number of middle-of-the-road persons who left the Kuomintang camp before it was reduced to its present straits. One of the most noteworthy of these is Chu Hsueh-fen, who before and during the war was head of the Kuomintang-sponsored Chinese Association of Labor. At the end of the war unions in Communist areas offered to affiliate to the C. A. L. as part of the general attempt to settle Kuomintang-Communist differences, and Chu was agreeable. When the formerly docile C. A. L. became an advocate of peace, unity, and better working conditions, Kuomintang rightists sent armed thugs to beat up its leaders and seize its headquarters. Chu, branded by the Kuomintang as "disloyal," fled for his life to Hongkong in November, 1946. There he was run down by a car driven by a man identified by the Hongkong authorities as a Kuomintang agent. He recovered, however, and made his way to Communist territory, where he was elected vice-chairman of the Communist-led All-China Labor Federation last summer.

That a moderate labor leader like Chu Hsueh-fan should have "crossed over" is not so strange as that the very elements that forced him out of the Kuomintang should attempt it. Among the top members of the Kuomintang hierarchy, only Chiang Kai-shek and ultra-rightist Chen Li-fu seem immune to the temptation. Many others, while talking loudly about "fighting to the last ditch" have sent discreet emissaries to Hongkong to find out from exiled anti-Kuomintang liberals and Communist spokesmen there whether they may possibly become part of a Communist-led coalition. Just before he left Hongkong for Manchuria to attend preliminary conferences on the composition of the future coalition government, Marshal Li Chi-sen, leader of the anti-Chiang "Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang," disclosed that Sun Fo, China's Premier and long-time tool of Chiang and Chen Li-fu, had sent a messenger to ask if he was eligible to "cross over." Sun Fo has of course denied this.

Much effort has been expended in Nanking to obtain foreign protection for this "crossing over." Even before mediation by the Big Four was officially requested, there had been a regular procession of Kuomintang politicians to the offices of Ambassador Leighton Stuart, asking for his help in transplanting a core of the present regime into a future coalition. These Chinese leaders have also been asking what measures Washington would take to protect them if they succeeded in crossing over. The December press conference of Paul Hoffman, head of the Economic Cooperation Administration, was in the nature of an indirect reply: the United States, he said, plans to provide assistance to a Communist-led coalition regime only if it permits free institutions to function without hindrance.

The Cominform's Plan for the Balkans

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

II. Dimitrov's Bulgaria

Sofia, December

IS SOCIALISM possible without industrialization? It would seem so if one considers Bulgaria, which is apparently the perfect case of a country ruled by the Communist Party but essentially agricultural. Before the war its exports were tobacco, rose oil (for perfume), eggs, and other agricultural products. Its minerals, apart from some low-grade coal, are negligible. It has no oil, and its hydraulic resources, because of frequent droughts, are highly problematical. Three-fourths of what industry it has is light industry—textiles, cigarettes, and the like. But since in Communist eyes a Socialist country is not worthy of the name unless it has a large industrial proletariat, Bulgaria has a Five-Year Plan, and by 1953 the present ratio between agricultural and industrial production—70 per cent to 30 per cent—is to be changed to 55 to 45. And, in addition, heavy industry, which now represents only one-quarter of Bulgaria's total industry, is to be raised to more than half.

What, one may ask, will Bulgaria require in order to industrialize itself in the next five years, or rather to "lay the foundation of socialism," for more than one five-year plan will be required to complete the process? Mr. Tepershev, head of the State Planning Commission, has named a few of the items that must be obtained from abroad. "We must," he said, "import machinery, tractors, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, oil, chemicals, cotton, leather, and much else." He might have said that all the oil must be imported, nearly all the machinery, nearly all the metals and the cotton, all the tractors, and nearly all the chemicals. "The trouble is," he went on, "that the industrial development of Bulgaria will be rendered possible only through the development

ALEXANDER WERTH, for several years The Nation's *correspondent in Russia, is now covering the other countries of Eastern Europe. The first part of this article appeared last week.*

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of our foreign trade, and here the difficulty is that our export possibilities are very small and our import needs very large." What, then, he asked, is the answer? First, he assured the Bulgarians, "there are no fortresses that we Bolsheviks cannot capture"; secondly, he suggested a less rhetorical solution: "We are hopeful that the Soviet Union and the other people's democracies will assist us."

Here, in fact, is the real key to the problem. Will Russia help Bulgaria to become an industrial country, even though Bulgaria is less suited to industrialization than any of the other people's democracies, including Yugoslavia? Why should not Bulgaria remain on the whole an agricultural country, supplying Czechs and Poles and Russians with tobacco and other farm products and receiving in return all kinds of useful articles to make the lives of its people brighter? Is it simply because all Communist parties make a fetish of an industrial proletariat, and especially of a *large* industrial proletariat?

THE Bulgars are not so reckless in their planning as the Yugoslavs were: capital investments under their Five-Year Plan will amount to only 17 per cent of their national income as against Yugoslavia's 30 per cent or more. Everything depends on Bulgaria's capacity to export—and on Soviet help. Practically all its tobacco, its main export, is being sold to Russia, as is most of its rose oil, which is something like a gold reserve. Malicious people say that Russia then sells both the tobacco and the rose oil in the world market at a handsome profit. Official Bulgars do not entirely deny this, but they say that the Russians make allowance for these profits when they send Bulgaria goods in return. Even if Bulgaria, as a result of its collectivization program and a number of good harvests, is able to increase its exports, it will hardly be able to carry out its Five-Year Plan for industrialization without a large Russian loan. So the question boils down to this: will the Russians help to industrialize Bulgaria as a matter of Communist prestige, and also to demonstrate that with much fewer assets Dimitrov's Bulgaria is more successful than Tito's Yugoslavia?

The answer is certainly doubtful, for considerations of prestige have never stood high on Russia's priorities list. Moreover, important geographical factors are working against Bulgaria: in the event of war it would probably be the first country overrun. The situation has no parallel anywhere in the Russian orbit, except perhaps in some of the minor Soviet republics which are predominantly agricultural but still like to boast of an urban proletariat of sorts. For them this proletariat is of little more than "sentimental value." Will it be the same in Bulgaria—despite the old and strong Communist tradition there?

The industrial development of Bulgaria must therefore for the present remain highly questionable. The evolution of trade and agriculture, however, can be more clearly visualized. Under the Five-Year Plan the 32 per cent of retail trade now still in private hands is to be reduced to a mere 5 per cent—which makes one ask whether Bulgaria is not repeating the error of Yugoslavia and going too fast. The same question might also be asked about the agricultural program. At present 2 per cent of the farms are collectivized, or, to use the official euphemism, turned into producer cooperatives; in five years 60 per cent are to be collectivized. That collectivization will be important from a production point of view can scarcely be doubted, for it is estimated that collectives produce 20 per cent more than private farms. In addition, collectivization is a first-class fiscal measure, since the state can collect its quotas of grain and other produce from collectives more easily than from 1,100,000 small farms with 12,000,000 plots.

The abolition of this strip farming will of course be economically advantageous, but certain features of the program seem less sound. For example, whereas in Poland collectivization will be carried out at the same rate as the increase in the number of tractors and agricultural machinery, in Bulgaria the rate will not depend on any such condition. The government *hopes* to produce most of the necessary lighter agricultural machinery and *hopes* to import thousands of tractors, but collectivization will be carried out in any case. The number of kulaks is very small, and we are told that the middle peasant is becoming increasingly favorable to the cooperative idea. Needless to say, there will be plenty of inducements to join the collectives, such as priority for members in the allocation of consumer goods.

THE Five-Year Plan also provides for a considerable increase in consumption, especially of food. The food situation, though somewhat easier than in Yugoslavia, where transport is in a desperate condition, is not good—Mr. Tepershev admitted that people were eating 25 per cent less than before the war. He plans to raise the consumption of cereals from 550 pounds per person in 1948 to 650 pounds in 1953; of meat from 30 to 70 pounds; of sugar from 15 to 20 pounds; of eggs from 20 to 70 pounds. He gave an idea of the low consumption of consumer goods by saying that the one pair of shoes a year now available for each person would be increased to one and one-half pairs.

If the Bulgarian Communists succeed in raising the standard of living to the extent indicated by these figures, they will have done a good deal. They are also adopting some of the better features of Soviet socialism —more schools, more hospitals, an immensely improved medical service which will transform, given enough medicines from abroad, a country that is still very near the Near Eastern level into one more worthy of Europe.

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Dimitrov had this point in mind when he said that in fifteen years the population of Bulgaria would increase from seven to ten million people, largely, he emphasized, through a sharp reduction in the infant-mortality rate.

The brave new world being built in Eastern Europe is a challenge to the West. Czechoslovakia, with its high standards of culture and technology, its large industries, its well-balanced economy, is almost the ideal terrain for socialism—Lenin's dream come true. But Bulgaria presents the very opposite conditions—a low standard of living, little or no technical culture, a lopsided economy which it will be desperately hard to straighten out through industrialization. All the countries of Eastern Europe, however, including Russia, are alike in that people talk far more about "what it will be like five years hence" than about the next war. Such an attitude is an asset.

Daring Young Man from the West

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Oregon, January 18

WHEN President Truman urged Congress to authorize the construction of manufacturing plants "for materials in critically short supply, such as steel," the brand of a thirty-eight-year-old Assistant Secretary of the Interior was stamped all over the proposal. Crow Girard Davidson, an energetic young lawyer with antecedents in Louisiana, college ties at Yale, legal experience in the Tennessee Valley Authority, and political ambitions in Oregon, had advocated precisely such a policy more than a month before the President delivered his message on the State of the Union. Speaking before the Northwest Mining Congress in Spokane on December 4, Davidson said, "If the steel men feel they can't raise the capital to build new steel plants, then we should help them out by authorizing the RFC to loan them the money. If the steel men then should reject these loans because of their basic opposition to expansion, the government itself must build the steel mills as it did during the war."

To many people both in Washington and in the West Davidson seems a happy throwback to the most fruitful years of the New Deal, when zealous young reformers needled their superiors into sponsoring an immense amount of liberal legislation. "I think you can depend upon Jebbie Davidson to take a more consistently enlightened position on every public question than any other person now associated with the government," comments Representative Henry Jackson, who has led many fights for public power and farm cooperatives in his Puget Sound district.

While general counsel of the Bonneville Power Administration in the Pacific Northwest, Davidson made it a practice to nudge his bosses to more vigorous advocacy of public ownership. More than once he asked sympathetic journalists to "prod" the agency of which he was a part. Some of his associates eyed this activity with apprehension, but any disciplining of Davidson would have stirred loud protests from the Grange, the Farmers' Union, and other groups with a stake in low-cost power. In the national capital Davidson pleaded for a barrage against the Eightieth Congress twelve months before the President opened fire. And a good deal of the material on natural resources in those fighting speeches at Spokane, Seattle, and Portland came from Davidson's desk. He and Clark Clifford are friends, and Clifford has been the conduit through which many of Davidson's ideas have found their way into the President's speaking script.

In September of last year this brash young Assistant Secretary in Interior wrote a sizzling letter to the new Secretary of Commerce, Charles Sawyer, criticizing him for siding with the Steel Products Advisory Committee in denying additional steel for the drill pipe and tubing used in oil prospecting and development. Davidson told Sawyer that his statements were "most disturbing," and then asked, "Does the Steel Products Advisory Committee wish me to tell the petroleum industry and the public that the steel industry will not make a voluntary agreement to divert some steel from other uses to the petroleum industry?" This frank threat to embarrass a committee of the nation's most affluent industrialists operating under the aegis of the Department of Commerce did not please Secretary Sawyer, but Davidson got away with it because by this time the President was embarked on the all-out New Deal course which was to lead to victory.

Davidson was general counsel for Bonneville from 1943 to 1946 and then went to Washington as Assistant Secretary of the Interior. He plans to return to Oregon and specifically lists his Washington address in "Who's Who" as "temporary." He thinks political advancement demands fewer compromises in the West than in his

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is an Oregon journalist who has long been a contributor to The Nation. *Last November he was elected to the Oregon Senate.*

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native South, and moreover he has definite views on civil rights which would cramp his political ambitions if he were to return to Louisiana. One of the ironic episodes of the recent campaign was a debate on the CBS "People's Platform" between Davidson, native of Lafayette, Louisiana, and Donald Richberg, erstwhile labor lawyer, on fair-employment-practices legislation. Davidson, of course, supported the FEPC.

Davidson's narrow, pointed face is softened by friendly eyes and a heavy shock of hair. He is an effective speaker, and someone remarked of a speech he made on the President's civil-rights program: "It's quite an experience to hear the language of William Lloyd Garrison in the accent of Jefferson Davis."

If Oregon ever elects a Democrat to the Senate, which it has not done since 1914, Jebbie Davidson may be the man. Next to being a United States Senator, he would like to be Secretary of the Interior. However, he realizes that Under Secretary Oscar L. Chapman has first claim to the post—if and when Krug leaves a job for which conservation and public-power forces in the West have always considered him unfitted. Many progressive Westerners think the Interior Department would be in ideal hands if Chapman became Secretary and Davidson Under Secretary. With Krug at the helm this, for the West, most vital of all government departments has floundered aimlessly. Bonneville no longer presses for public power; the Alaska program has actually retarded settlement of the Territory. Not even such aides as Chapman and Davidson have been able to persuade Krug to undertake sorely needed reorganizations.

Davidson's closest friends are careful not to advance his claims beyond those of Chapman. In the first place, liberals from Cheyenne to Seattle were disappointed when the President by-passed Chapman for Krug in 1946. Secondly, they think Davidson might be better able to spur on the White House and the liberals in Congress from the less conspicuous position. As Secretary he would have to be more cautious about sending up trial balloons.

Davidson has already made tentative arrangements to practice law in Oregon. He thinks he has been too long away from the region where he wants to earn his living, bring up his two small children, ski on snowy week-ends, and eventually put his name on the ballot. His Western friends, however, are urging him to stay on in Washington because one of the great legislative battles in the Eighty-first Congress will be over regional authorities for the Missouri and Columbia River basins.

Last month the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* leading newspaper sponsor of a Missouri Valley Authority, pointed to Davidson as the principal advocate within the Administration of this approach to resource development. The private utilities' opposition to valley authorities may not be so effective as it was before November 2, but two powerful government bureaus will be most unwilling to yield either personnel or appropriations to a new independent agency. In the Missouri valley the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation have combined to support the feeble Pick-Sloan plan in order to forestall an authority. In the Columbia valley they are at each other's throats over which shall build the world's highest dam in Hell's Canyon on the Snake River. In the meantime the Northwest faces a grave power shortage. And with the lumber supply dwindling and the population rapidly increasing, cheap power offers the only possible source of new employment. Yet because of the strife between the bureaus, the power job is not being done.

C. Girard Davidson Seligson

Except for Davidson, almost the whole Interior Department is against regional authorities. Adverse propaganda began to be issued during Harold Ickes's regime and has never been fully shut off. If lately some Interior officials have announced that they are prepared to accept the "principle" of a valley authority, their partial surrender is attributable to the influence of the youthful Assistant Secretary: "The establishment of a valley authority," he has said, "does not require the replacement of the federal agencies which perform functions that are clearly a part of a general national program. . . . But under the unified planning of a valley authority, the timing and scope of these agencies' respective programs would conform to the development of the valley."

Prospects are now brighter for the MVA and the CVA than they have ever been before. Senator Murray of Montana, sponsor of MVA, was overwhelmingly re-elected on November 2. Ex-Senator Hugh B. Mitchell of Washington, original author of the CVA bill, was sent back to Congress in November as Representative from Seattle. He and Representative Jackson have already prepared a CVA measure for this session. These men will rely upon Davidson to be their agent and advocate within the government.

When the President indorsed the TVA method in his State of the Union message, observers decided Jebbie was off to a good start.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Making of a Liberal

MR. JUSTICE BLACK, THE MAN AND HIS OPINIONS. By John P. Frank. Introduction by Charles A. Beard. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

TO UNDERSTAND Hugo Black and his impact on our times a knowledge of his background and life history is essential. This excellent work gives us that knowledge. The author, now a professor of law at the University of Indiana, served his legal apprenticeship as clerk to Justice Black, and there is a trace of nostalgic fatigue in his statement that "he [Black] and his clerk frequently worked a fourteen-to-sixteen-hour day."

After describing Black's early days in Clay County, Alabama, Professor Frank paints a picture of constant growth and development—from a backwoods lad to the broadminded scholar and jurist. In 1906, at the age of twenty, after going through high school and two years of law school, Black began the practice of law in his home town. A year later he moved to Birmingham. There, except for brief periods as police court judge, prosecuting attorney, and captain of artillery during World War I, he practiced law, with increasing success, until he was elected Senator in 1926.

Black spent eleven years in the Senate. The first six he devoted largely to self-education, delving deeply into history, economics, and literature and confirming and strengthening his inclination toward liberalism. Reelected in 1932, Black was one of Roosevelt's lieutenants in Congress and played a leading role in the fight for the New Deal.

That fight, for Black, culminated in the struggle over the Supreme Court bill. For some fifty years the court had used the "due process" clause of the Constitution to repel efforts of the states to regulate our industry. When the New Deal attempted to effect such control by federal legislation, the court, relying on the "commerce" clause, ruled that the federal government was likewise powerless.

This created a vast area in which our democracy could not function. The situation closely paralleled that created by the Dred Scott decision in 1857, which drew violent condemnation of the court from Lincoln. In Lincoln's case the situation had to be resolved by a long and bloody war; Roosevelt achieved his objective when the court, led by Chief Justice Hughes, reversed itself in the midst of the fight.

This book illuminates that memorable struggle. Black was in the thick of the Congressional battle. His appointment to the court itself shortly afterward confirmed the worst fears of the opposition. However, within a few months he had silenced his critics by demonstrating a high degree of skill and craftsmanship and a thorough comprehension of basic political, social, and economic issues. His opinions helped greatly to remove the chains which had fettered both federal and state governments in their efforts to regulate matters affecting our economy.

The seeming inconsistencies in Black's record are clarified by this story. It explains, for example, how Black could perfunctorily join the Klan in his thirties and yet later become a leading exponent of equal rights for all.

Professor Frank gives other evidence of growth. In the opinion in the Kawato case (1942) upholding the claim of an interned Japanese alien to the enforcement of his rights in our courts even in war time, Black said: "Harshness toward immigrants was inconsistent with that national knowledge, present then as now, of the contributions made in peace and war by the millions of immigrants who have learned to love the country of their adoption more than the country of their birth." Yet only recently Black told a friend that he had grown to manhood sharing the conviction of his neighbors that our ills were due mainly to the influx of foreigners. It is no surprise, therefore, to read that in his first campaign for the Senate one of his planks was restriction of immigration. However, as the author points out, there was little to distinguish Black's platform from that of his opponents. Even John Bankhead was shouting, "America for the Americans."

The liberalism which became so apparent in the Senator and jurist had some manifestation in Black as a young man. From contemporary accounts we learn that as a young police court judge he insisted on fair treatment for Negroes brought before him. One newspaper commented with surprise that Judge Black would take the word of a Negro against that of a white man—even a white officer. During his first year as county solicitor Black discovered that the police were obtaining confessions, particularly from Negroes, by third-degree methods. He initiated a grand-jury investigation which exposed, and ultimately remedied, the situation. The book quotes from Black's report: "Such practices are dishonorable, tyrannical, and despotic, and such rights must not be surrendered to any officer or set of officers so long as human life is held sacred and human liberty and human safety of paramount importance."

The second part of Professor Frank's work consists largely of extracts from thirty-four of Justice Black's opinions. One of the hardest-working members of the Supreme Court, Black has written more than three hundred opinions. Professor Frank has selected well; enough has been given to indicate Black's views in the various fields of controversy in which he has played a leading role.

There is a common impression that Black believes in expanding the power of the federal government at the expense of that of the states. As Professor Frank points out, this is not the case. It is Black's conviction that both state and federal legislative branches, in their efforts to solve our economic problems, should be free from interference by the judiciary, and that judges should never attempt to substitute their views for those of legislators, whether at the state or national level. (Since the book was printed, these views have been set forth explicitly in Black's recent opinions upholding state laws banning the closed shop.)

It now seems beyond question that Black will go down in history as one

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of our great justices. He has left indelible marks in such divergent fields as anti-trust regulation, utility rates, patents, labor, separation of church and state, and, above all, civil rights. Most readers of this book will agree with the estimate of Professor Charles A. Beard, who in his excellent introduction says: "Unless I mistake the nature of the man, Justice Hugo Black will strive until the last hour to keep open the refuge established by the Constitution against the passions of rulers and multitudes."

IRVING M. ENGEL

Birth of a Nation

THE BIRTH OF ISRAEL. By Jorge Garcia-Granados. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

THIS IS ISRAEL. By I. F. Stone. Gaer Associates. $2.75.

UNDER any circumstances the birth of a nation is a profound event. In the case of Israel it is freighted with such desperate urgency, such tragic memories, such historic meaning, such fervent hopes, as to stir the soul. Books describing Israel's beginnings were to be expected. They have begun to appear.

The Guatemalan representative to the United Nations has written a fighting book based on his experience as a member of the U. N. Palestine Committee. Entering on his responsibilities with no commitment other than his innate liberalism, he soon discovered that the British were blocking a just and progressive solution of the problem. His on-the-spot investigation revealed that they not only had made no genuine effort to promote Arab-Jewish accord but had sought to prevent it. In the Negev he found that British officers had told the Bedouins to stay away from the Jews. He might have anticipated this attitude from the reception that UNSCOP received at the hands of the British from the outset. When they came to London, no rooms were available for them at a good hotel. Innumerable petty difficulties were placed in their way. The mandatory government greeted their arrival in Palestine with the announcement of its decision to execute three Irgunists, which inevitably created an atmosphere of tension and bitterness during their investigation. The British, presumably in economic difficulties, were spending at the rate of $28,000,000 a year to maintain their military establishment in Palestine.

As a liberal, Garcia-Granados was especially sensitive to the contradictions in British policy and character. It was a democratic Labor government which was attempting to maintain a vicious imperialism in the Middle East. Bevin's stubbornness led inexorably to inhumanity and failure. This I saw for myself when the mass of surviving Jews sought frantically to escape from pogroms in Poland in 1946. Their immediate goal was the safety provided by the United States army in the American zones of Germany and Austria. Their ultimate objective was resettlement in Palestine. I have personally seen official evidence proving that the British government exerted severe pressure on the Polish government not to let the harassed Jews escape, on the Czech government not to permit them passage through to Austria, on the United States authorities not to grant them haven, on the French and Italian governments not to give them even asylum for a night. Every consideration of humanity was disregarded. Of course this ruthless, stupid policy was destined to fail. The Jews found ways to circumvent it; for them it was a question of life or death. The American government reaffirmed its humanitarian policy of granting haven to refugees. The European leaders despised the British for their hypocrisy—for mouthing the phrases of freedom while denying it to Hitler's sorriest victims.

The policy of the British government, Mr. Garcia-Granados demonstrates, has remained obstructive and unworkable to this very day. Having referred the Palestine problem to the United Nations for solution, it was under obligation as mandatory power to help with the implementation of the final decision. Instead, the British refused to cooperate; they declined to assist or even permit an orderly transition on their departure; they armed the Arabs and encouraged their leaders to fight. On the floor of the United Nations the Guatemalan representative warned, "The United Kingdom's plan and behavior will lead only to bloodshed in Palestine." Of course it did. The British bear a heavy burden of guilt, not only for the needless loss of life, but also for undermining the prestige of the United Nations.

Mr. Garcia-Granados writes with the authority of personal knowledge and with the eloquence of a passionate lover of democracy. He finds in Jewish Palestine the inspiration and the program for the democratization of the Middle East. "How far from Guatemala to Palestine—and yet, how near! In a world of many peoples, the struggle was one."

I. F. Stone covers some of the same ground, but he brings the story up to date. He is particularly indignant over the vacillations of United States policy and the machinations within the State Department. "To hear the 'tuk, tuk' of aerial cannon over a colony with nothing but rifles for its defense was to understand in one's very bowels the meaning of the American arms embargo, to be suddenly unimpressed by de facto recognition."

The singular quality of Jewish building and defense is not only described colorfully but is illustrated by the best collection of Palestine pictures I have seen. Most of them are by the *Life* photographer, Capa. Cooke and Gidal provided the rest. They reveal the transformation of the people as well as the redemption of the land. Mr. Stone undoubtedly wanted such pictures to illustrate his book because like myself he had seen many of these very Jews in the throes of degradation and despair. Hitler not only slaughtered six million Jews and despoiled the survivors; he made the word "Jew" a stigma. He accustomed the European mind to regard Jews as utterly contemptible and was in process of contaminating the world's mind. That the survivors resisted the poisonous effect of this atmosphere on themselves is testimony to their character and faith. That they so quickly became the self-respecting, even heroic figures depicted by Stone and Capa testifies to the redemptive capacity of Palestine. Even the cynical newspaperman cannot refrain from writing: "The rebirth of Israel . . . after the terrible degradation of the Hitler period . . . occurred . . . as if by miraculous dispensation."

There is a moving quality in the way Stone writes about the fighting Jews which is reminiscent of the Book of Maccabees. Outnumbered, poorly equipped, they nevertheless prevailed. They secured their rights not as a gift but as all free men do, through their

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own struggles and sacrifices. "The Jews held and the Arabs failed because one people cared enough to die and the other did not." So it came about that when once again the Jews were disappointed and betrayed, when once again they counted on the world's conscience and it failed them, they did not wait for the British Foreign Office or our State Department or U. N. deliberations to help them. They took their fate into their own hands and they triumphed. "From the military point of view the Jewish state was fully in existence the day it was declared. Partition was an accomplished fact. The Jews had done the job for themselves."

These books answer the need for an honest, vivid, authoritative description of the birth of Israel. And they are written in a style worthy of the event.

PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

The Art in Painting

CONTEMPORARY PAINTERS. By James Thrall Soby. The Museum of Modern Art. $3.75.

IN THIS useful group of essays on today's and yesterday's painters Mr. Soby avoids areas adequately covered in other people's writing. He restudies artists like Charles Demuth whose work has long deserved renewed and careful attention. He brings up to date the appraisal of Max Beckmann and others "whose fame has outgrown the critical texts in English on their works." He reconsiders half-forgotten developments in Italy, where a new ferment is discernible, and later plays off Italian futurism against Wyndham Lewis's vorticism (1914-1915) and its echoes in recent English painting. He offers a substantial coverage of promising young American painters. If his choices coincide wth those made by the Museum of Modern Art in the past few years, that is perfectly legitimate, because Mr. Soby, a trustee of the museum and chairman of its department of painting and sculpture, has a voice in its purchasing activities.

The method of critical comparison is here used to advantage. Unexpected pairings like Max Weber and Edward Hopper, Ben Shahn and Robert Graves, allow Mr. Soby to arrive at sharply contrasting characterizations, which he thereupon refines into subtler and more complex estimates. Rouault and Soutine are grouped around a common theme of tragedy; and humor links, I think rather superficially, Klee, Miró, and Calder. The author brings considerable gifts to his task, among them a cultivated mind, an acute sensibility to what Dr. Barnes has aptly called the art in painting, and a fluent and charming literary style.

The general reader will find this book interesting and informative. I warmly recommend it to college teachers as supplementary reading for students in courses on modern painting.

The choice of a title for this book must have caused some difficulty, and the present one is not altogether satisfactory. Some of the painters are no longer living—Demuth died in 1935—and some of the living are no longer influential. Futurism fizzled soon after it exploded in 1912, and a revival in the 1920's was hardly successful. In Soby's opinion the reputations of Charles Burchfield and Giorgio di Chirico rest primarily on what they painted more than thirty years ago. Readers with advanced notions of modern art will wonder at the inclusion of Edward Hopper in a book of this sort, despite the author's disarming modesty: "An underlying premise of this book is that, even from an advanced viewpoint, the romantic-realist Hopper is as valid a subject for study as Soutine the expressionist. . . . We are not going to settle in our time the direction than art *must* take; now, as always, good painters will follow divergent paths to conflicting yet equally rewarding goals."

The inclusion of Hopper makes "contemporary" a more appropriate word than "modern" in Mr. Soby's title. (In writing this I defer to current usage in Boston.) The Museum of Modern Art, however, devoted its second one-man American show to Edward Hopper and regularly exhibits one or more of his works. Mr. Soby is obviously sincere in his praise, but there is a vast difference in basis of judgment between his estimates of Hopper and, for example, Demuth. The pages on Hopper are mainly about subject matter with "atmosphere." I have never felt that Hopper has much else to offer. The appeal of his pictures is one of association. I miss the fire of a painter's imagination. Without it those associations do not reach a pictorial level but remain chiefly on a sentimental one. Hopper is Soby's hair shirt. I think he wears it out of too much respect for the attitude of the average American toward art. In America today it is hard for any serious art critic not to seem like a snob. As one of our most gifted critics Mr. Soby ought to take the consequences.

He is at his best on Demuth, Marin, Beckmann, and Giorgio di Chirico—painters who provide him with substantial pictorial imaginations to explore. Loren MacIver inspires one of his many sensitive comments: "She makes us look for what she herself customarily sees, a sure sign of the artist, for one cannot walk through Central Park without noticing images she might have painted." But he is too generous to painters like Alton Pickens and Stanley Spencer, who invent strange themes and for the most part merely illustrate them. In discussing Matta Mr. Soby turns amateur psychoanalyst without, it seems to me, exploring much beyond a new iconography. "The canvas engulfs the

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spectator to a curious degree, arousing sensations of dream projection quite unlike the usual aesthetic response." My own critical bias tells me that dream projections, like anything else, are legitimate material for painting, but that works of art which arise from them ought to evoke precisely "the usual aesthetic response."

If Walter Pater could have had his "eye" trained by Roger Fry, he might have written Soby's essay on Demuth. It is as good as that. The Soby who wrote these pages appears on most of the others. I could wish, though, that he were less kindly, that he would indulge just occasionally in some of Clement Greenberg's snarling dogmatisms.

Here are two estimates of Stanley Spencer. The first, urbane and reasonable, is by Soby: "He stands alone now as he stood in youth. His solitary position may seem a greater virtue in future years, when the conformity of so much of twentieth-century painting may be more accurately appraised." The second, by Greenberg, is arbitrary, but I think it is more accurate: "Stanley Spencer lacks that elemental subtlety without which painting cannot attain to the regions of art." S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Three Negro Leaders

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON. By Basil Matthews. Harvard University Press. $4.75.

THE STORY OF JOHN HOPE. By Ridgely Torrence. The Macmillan Company. $5.

A MAN CALLED WHITE. By Walter White. The Viking Press. $3.75.

AT ONCE slaves, aliens, primitives, the Negroes shanghaied to America almost three centuries ago faced the nearly insuperable task of quickly adjusting to a white, Christian culture which had been sixteen hundred years in the making. Ever since, they have been involved in an unprecedented, many-front struggle which has, at times, had much in common with the slave revolts of antiquity, the national independence movements of the last century, and the colonial upheavals of this, and which has been further confounded by racial warfare without any parallel whatsoever. Probably no people, with the possible exception of the Jews, has encountered greater odds; a comparable group, the American Indian, with the advantage of being challenged on native ground, succumbed in a similar struggle. That the Negro has survived, and prospered, under the most forbidding conditions is testimony to his unique fortitude and creative power.

Few Negroes exemplify better the triumph of the race than Booker T. Washington, John Hope, and Walter White, whose biographies coincidentally appear at this time. Driven by that inspirational force which sometimes animates those who lead the oppressed, each submerged himself in conscious dedication to his people, and thereby acquired new stature. Embracing different periods, together their lives provide a dramatic, personalized history of the Negro since the Civil War, and illustrate those qualities which have enabled the group to advance, and which propelled them into its leadership.

Yet their lives follow no single pattern. Booker T. Washington is the Horatio Alger dream come true. Born in slavery, he became, as Southern poor whites have put it, "the niggers' President," and in the process trusted adviser to four white Presidents. Yet nominally he never rose to be more than principal of Tuskegee Institute, which he founded on a deserted Alabama plantation to give Negroes vocational training. To the Negro the seemingly dull pursuit of learning carpentry, bricklaying, and husbandry spelled the difference between degenerating into peonage or remaining free, and he listened with respect as Washington incessantly pounded home the virtues of hard work, thrift, and good manners. Washington ruled Tuskegee paternally but wisely, displaying an uncanny insight into the soul of the under dog. But also, like many pioneers, he was guilty of extremism, and when he insisted on the primacy of cabbage-growing over poetry he was attacked for preaching the false gospel that man lived by bread alone.

John Hope was born of a wealthy white father and grew up in a cosmopolitan environment. But when treacherous friends deprived him of his inheritance, he was forced to do menial work and thus tasted the Negro's poverty and degradation. Suddenly fired with ambition when past his majority, he attended Worcester and Brown and after graduation taught at Nashville. Then, resisting all appeals to move North, he settled down in Atlanta to his lifework as president of Morehouse College and later of Atlanta University. The latter meant realization of his fondest dream—the unification of all the Atlanta Negro colleges into one great system. But whereas the rugged and earthy Washington stressed the need to acquire industrial and agricultural skills, the refined and sensitive Hope emphasized the importance of higher learning and so tried to fill the intellectual vacuum left by Washington. The twentieth century was well on its course, and the Negro muttered for recognition as man, not as mere tool. Hope helped pave the way for the artistic and intellectual flowering of the twenties and for the maturing of new social forces like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Old enough to vote before Washington died in 1915 and in his prime while Hope still lived, Walter White is nevertheless a child of our turbulent generation. He came up from neither slavery nor wealth but from lower-middle-class circumstances. He might have prospered as an Atlanta insurance salesman, but he met James Weldon Johnson and, his race consciousness quickened by memories of the 1906 Atlanta riots, accepted Johnson's offer to work for the young N. A. A. C. P. White thus chose a life of action, in distinction to Washington and Hope, who, though "men of action" too—the responsibilities of Negro leadership make an ivory-tower existence impossible—were primarily educators. White's tireless campaigning for social justice and his building of the N. A. A. C. P. into a mass organization have served to identify him in most minds as the race's foremost spokesman and the N. A. A. C. P. as the chief vehicle through which Negro aspirations are voiced. White, like his forerunners Washington and Hope, represents a new stage in the advancement of the Negro.

Washington and Tuskegee, Hope and Atlanta University, White and the N. A. A. C. P.—man and institution, each duo is inseparable; but in each case the institution acts essentially as a base for operations which extend far beyond its immediate confines, beyond even the color line itself.

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Washington, from Tuskegee, penetrated everywhere. Through his mobile farm conferences he maintained intimate rapport with the black and white rural population; on his numerous speaking trips he established profitable relationships with politicians and scientists, workers and industrialists. So great was his hold upon both races that no President dared make a Negro appointment without first consulting Washington; and conversely no Negro could obtain support for any race-betterment project without, to copy a famous phrase, clearing it with Booker. Scrupulously non-partisan, his good offices were sought no matter what the party in power.

Hope's alliances were mainly with educators and with those amazing Northern religious leaders who were the pioneers of Negro education in the South. He was the first Negro to head the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, now the Southern Regional Council, and was a force in other non-academic activities. But fundamentally his was not a temporal power. As Ridgely Torrence notes, "an altogether disproportionate number of Morehouse men later became college presidents and leaders in other fields." It was as a molder of men rather than as a manipulator of them that Hope, from Atlanta, radiated incalculable influence.

With White we return to the "political" but strictly non-partisan type of leader, of which the fiery Frederick Douglass was the first example, for it was he who originally pried open the doors to the high places, including the Presidency. White is by no means a second Douglass or Washington in this respect—no Negro leader today commands the universal support they did—but White does have access to large numbers of Very Important People, and has participated in drafting policy on major issues like the FEPC. Also unlike Washington, White is feared and disliked among those who fear and dislike the militant N. A. A. C. P.

The activities of all three ranged across the whole world, and they were ardent internationalists when the rest of America stagnated in insularity. Washington studied first-hand the conditions of the European peasant, established friendships with Continental leaders, and was instrumental in obtaining American aid for the then straitened Negro Republic of Liberia. John Hope was an inveterate delegate at international conferences, and so thoroughly absorbed Old World culture that it was said of him he could name and describe perfectly every building on the Acropolis. Hope investigated conditions among our Negro troops in France in 1918 and returned to write an angry report of them. A generation later White similarly covered the war fronts and brought the tragic story up to date. Recently Walter White was again abroad, in the service of a higher cause than it was Washington's or Hope's lot to serve—the United Nations. If America now realizes that its dark-skinned minority is not a world minority and that its fate evokes sympathy over the entire globe, this is partly due to the efforts of Negro ambassadors like Washington, Hope, and White.

Booker T. Washington has gone down in history both as an "appeaser" of white folks and as a "realist," depending on one's view. In presenting the classic debate between Washington and his principal critic, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, which raged during the former's lifetime and still continues among Negroes, it is unfortunate that Basil Matthews betrays a distinctly pro-Washington bias. From this distance partisanship is meaningless. Historically, the Negro has required—at any rate, has found good use for—both accommodators and intransigents. The militant Douglass proved to be an ideal leader during the period of anti-slavery agitation. But with anti-Negro reaction rampant throughout the South of Washington's day the head-on approach would have been foolhardy if not dangerously provocative; in Washington white and colored alike saw a conciliator who wanted to attenuate sore antagonisms and help establish those peaceful economic relationships without which neither race could advance. On the other hand, it is undeniable that in Washington's famous statement —"In all things that are purely social we can be separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to progress"—was contained a gratuitous apology for segregation which has since seriously encumbered the fight for equality. It was the mission of a Du Bois to attempt to combat such submissiveness, and while Du Bois's demand for full equality was then radical, utopian, and doomed to failure, its long-term effect has been salutary.

John Hope was the sole college president to attend the Niagara Conference of 1906, which adopted the Du Bois thesis. It was an extremely brave gesture, for Niagara was condemned as a radical gathering, and after it Hope had to return to the deep South. Subsequently he found it necessary to appeal to Washington for financial support for his college. This provoked Du Bois, who carried no administrative responsibilities, to write, "I am sorry to see you or anyone in Washington's net . . . Washington stands for submission and slavery." Hope, however, deplored the "severe alignments" which made it "as much a lack of courage as a mark of courage to stand either with Du Bois or Washington to the absolute exclusion of one or the other." He could exclude neither, but stood with both.

With Walter White a full circle is completed. Douglass was the first to formulate a program of social equality. He was succeeded, at the other extreme, by Washington—who, paradoxically, worshiped Douglass. Du Bois, in the Douglass tradition, arises as a counter-reaction to Washington. Hope treads the middle ground. Finally White, arriving at a moment when equality is earning widespread support among Negroes *and whites*, expresses consummately the Douglass-Du Bois idea through the N. A. A. C. P., which grew directly out of the Niagara movement. Thus is Du Bois's "premature" radicalism vindicated. But also, Washington's philosophy continues to flourish, through the ever-growing Tuskegee Institute, alongside Du Bois's. And the coexistence of these opposites means that Hope's middle course, too, has acquired currency, for it is no longer necessary to choose between Washington and Du Bois to the exclusion of either.

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These contradictory theories have become, in action, complementary methods of achieving the common goal of freedom. Today's Negro leadership finds it possible, indeed essential, to practice accommodation, intransigence, or moderation, or combinations of the three, as the situation demands. The steady pace of Negro gains and increasing mass support justify this resilient approach. (On the other hand, the inflexible Du Bois, who has moved toward communism, has suffered eclipse as a leader.) Collectively Negro leaders demonstrate a maturity, a statesmanship, and an ability to grapple with complex forces which are all too seldom found in those who lead stronger groups. These qualities reflect an amount of vitality and creative talent within the race which has been only superficially tapped. As they emerge more clearly in the foreground, the old stereotypes will vanish, and the Negro will stand really free and equal.

The volumes by Matthews, Torrence, and White, though containing defects which space limitations alone forbid mentioning, should prove to be a cherished trinity in the library of the man of good-will. DANIEL JAMES

More of Walpole's Letters

THE YALE EDITION OF HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE. Volumes XIII-XIV (in one). Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Thomas Gray, Richard West, and Thomas Ashton. Edited by W. S. Lewis, George L. Lam, and Charles H. Bennett. Volume I. Yale University Press. $20.

THIS is the first new instalment of the Walpole letters to appear in four years. In the introduction the chief editor casually hopes that "we shall now be able to press forward and finish the remaining forty or so volumes by 1965." Such a remark gives some hint of the scope of the task and the almost princely magnificence with which the whole enterprise is being carried out. The present staff of editorial workers, "including part-time assistants," numbers twelve, and certainly not even the most industrious scholar could hope to accomplish unaided and in the space of one lifetime the labors proposed. Taking for granted the work of the collection and collation of a vast body of material, there still remains the most imposing task of all—namely, the preparation of notes averaging, in this instalment, perhaps seven or eight to a page. These notes, though the editor frankly repeats such criticisms of them as have been made, seem models of what they should be. There is no annotating of what does not need to be annotated, no personal chitchat, and no stuffing with the irrelevant or commonplace. Occasionally the failure to identify or explain something is duly noted. But with very few exceptions every quotation—and they are often such that only diligent search in more or less obscure places could locate them—every name, place, and allusion is briefly explained. In the case of letters as full of reference as those of Walpole and his friends the undertaking is prodigious, and the value is, of course, not merely that these letters are made clear but that the information will be used by other students of the period, who will find the indexed volumes a great storehouse of out-of-the-way information.

The present double volume containing about six hundred pages and twelve full-page illustrations is devoted to both sides of the correspondence with three schoolboy friends, one of whom was still writing to Walpole some thirty-seven years later. Certain supplementary documents are hitherto unpublished, and though none of the letters are new to us, the correspondence is an unusually interesting one. For the most part it is intimately personal, not intended so much for posterity as many of Walpole's letters, but rather for the recipient. The earliest letters were written by a trio of self-conscious but extraordinarily endowed schoolboys; the latest by a great poet and a great dilettante who were alike in that both had made but apparently never regretted the Great Refusal to compete for the world's prizes. Though he professed to believe that literature was dying, Walpole read Pope's "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot" when it was first published, read Johnson's "London" when its author was all but unknown, and heard from Gray the news of the publication at last of the latter's "Elegy." Among the gems of the collection are Walpole's letters from Italy, where he visited the newly discovered Herculaneum—Pompeii was yet to be uncovered. As a specimen of his manner I quote:

> The most remarkable thing I have observed since I came abroad is that there are no people so obviously mad as the English. . . . In England tempers vary so excessively that almost everyone's faults are peculiar to himself. . . . If one could avoid contracting this queerness, it must certainly be the most entertaining to live in England, where such a variety of incidents continue to amuse. The incidents of a week in London would furnish all Italy with news for a twelvemonth. The only circumstances of moment in the life of an Italian that ever give occasion to their being mentioned are being married and in a year after taking a cicisbeo. Ask the name, the husband, the wife, or the cicisbeo of any person, *et voilà qui est fini.* JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The True and Solid Past

A CHILMARK MISCELLANY. By Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton and Company. $4.

"THE theory of books is noble," said Emerson in "The American Scholar." "The scholar of the first age received into him the world around. . . . It came to him business; it went from him poetry." Business and poetry have been the concern of Van Wyck Brooks too. And, while it might be unfair to say of Brooks, "It came to him poetry; it went from him business," the inversion points to Brooks's own ambivalence. He is torn between two dreams of a Golden Age: the one of clipper ships, Salem fisheries, and woolen factories on the Connecticut, the other of bitter or of mellow genius. Brooks defends each dream by mocking the sentimentality of the other. Thus, wary of the Mississippi Idyll, he tells us to look at the economics of the river before we decide that "Huckleberry Finn" is our only classic. He writes, "I reflect that life on the raft would not be so good if someone had not civilized the Mississippi or made it only picturesquely bad." But when one of the civilizers—jurist or magnate—pays a chauffeur's wages to a young man for a ghost-written speech, then Brooks is full of disdain for the pushers of buttons. Then, like Emerson, he complains of the air made thick and fat by avarice.

The two dreams never become the one "true and solid" past which he seeks. Perhaps that golden merger would be

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unbearable, for it may well be Brooks's half-lighted vision that makes him readable. What prose could gild the union of gentle (or terrible) steam-engine merchants and potted polite (or ferocious) poets?

In "The Chilmark Miscellany" Brooks has collected from "The Opinions of Oliver Allston" the Notes from a Journal, and from his other writings two long Scenes—New England in 1815; the South, 1800-1870—and a baker's dozen of miscellaneous essays on individual authors. Chilmark, it may be noted, is the name of the Brooks home on Martha's Vineyard.

It is questionable whether the journal which opens the collection is a true one, as are those of Emerson, Thoreau, and Hawthorne. There is a disturbing finish to each note of Brooks's, little sense of time, and, therefore, little sense of irony. Irony—not the Yankee horse sense of which he has much—might have kept him from including on page 21: "She makes me feel like a syringa blossom, she being the humming-bird. I can feel her little brain revolve and vibrate, whirring at such a rate that it makes me dizzy, while the proboscis fathoms me, all to extract a drop of honey."

Brooks admires and maintains a tough spirit. He could, for instance, make short shrewd work of the current restoration of the Blush among some too easily embarrassed critics. But horse sense with blinders is no sense, not even a scholar's sense.

BYRON DOBELL

Books in Brief

THE EMBERS STILL BURN. By Ira A. Hirschmann. Simon and Schuster. $3. America is the villain of this book by a former UNRRA inspector who has learned nothing and forgotten nothing since he toured Europe in 1946, and whose passion for the under dog is sufficiently wide to include even Russia and its satellites. Here once more, as though echoed from behind the iron curtain, are the charges we have so often heard: "We have turned away from the path of peace, from Big Three unity; we have spurned collective security; we have determined on unilateral action and have by-passed the United Nations. . . . After the brash blunder of the Truman Doctrine, which brazenly heralded an aggressive policy against our former ally, we resorted to the Marshall Plan . . . to make Western Europe the 'front line' for a war with the East through military aid." Mr. Hirschmann, as may be seen, is a battler who swings hard but who swings wild; a debater, to change the metaphor, who has the ability to undermine your convictions only when they happen to coincide with his own.

POPCORN ON THE GINZA. By Lucy Herndon Crockett. Sloane. $3.50. A Red Cross girl records her experiences and observations in post-war Japan. A very feminine book and, partly for that reason, an interesting one, full of down-to-earth details that give a vivid sense of daily life and of the sometimes awkward, often amusing attempts of conquered and conqueror to adapt themselves to an alien civilization. Non-critical, anecdotal, lightly readable.

CORAL AND BRASS. By General Holland M. Smith and Percy Finch. Scribner's. $3. "Howlin' Mad" Smith fought the war on two fronts: against the Japanese and against the conservatism of the army and navy. His controversial story of the achievements of his beloved marines at Tarawa, Saipan, and Iwo Jima makes a thrilling record of courage and ingenuity, a tragic record of sacrifice. Lively reading but over-pugnacious in tone, as though the General were conscious of a need to live up to his nickname.

THE WAR OF 1812. By Francis F. Beirne. Dutton. $5. Oddly enough there has been no history of the War of 1812 written within the last eighty years; the gap is now admirably filled by this unusually readable volume. Of particular interest is the detailed story of how we happened to blunder into so unnecessary a war. The author is an editor on the Baltimore *Sun*.

MOST OF THE WORLD. Edited by Ralph Linton. Columbia University Press. $5.50. Under this ambiguous title is concealed an encyclopedic study of Latin America, Africa, the Near East, India, Southeast Asia, China, and Japan by fifteen authors. Among the subjects covered are natural resources, geography, commerce, life and livelihoods of the people, and culture. Over 900 pages packed with information about the backward, exploited, or emergent regions of the world.

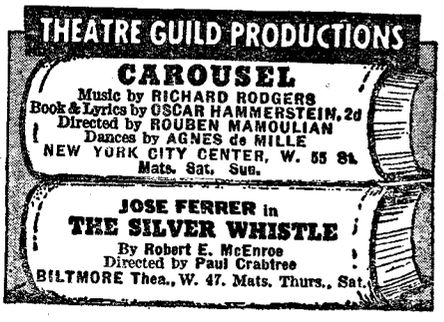
GOVERNMENT AS EMPLOYER. By Sterling Spero. Remsen Press. $5.65. A detailed and valuable study of the history and present state of labor relations in the public services. Includes an analysis of the legal rights of public employees, an account of the rise of trade unionism in the various branches of the service, a fascinating history of the teachers' unions, and a description of present labor policies in federal, state, and municipal governments.

CHALLENGE OF THE AMERICAN KNOW-HOW. By Pearl Franklin Clark. Harper. $2.50. A chatty little book by the wife of an American management engineer, dealing largely with the human side of their attempts to "Americanize" Polish and French industries in the period between the wars. Sweetly idealistic, and light both in substance and manner.

Films

ANTHONY BOWER

"THE QUIET ONE" (to be released in the near future) is one of those phenomena of film-making that suddenly emphasize the absurdity of the average Hollywood film budget, the astronomical figures of stars' salaries, and the appalling lack of inventiveness in the usual picture. It is a documentary made by and with amateurs—in the sense that they are not part of any professional film company—which was photographed originally on 16-mm. film and produced on a shoestring, but with such tact and simplicity and feeling that it emerges as a far more moving and even "entertaining" product than any three-million-dollar sob story. It deals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with a short period in the life of a small Negro boy who, deserted by his mother, lives a loveless, rejected life with his harassed grandmother in a grim Harlem slum. His intense loneliness and his awareness of being completely unwanted turn him into a petty thief and a renegade from home and school. Finally one day, in sullen, half-aware protest against the circumstances of his life, he hurls a stone through a shop window and is sent away to a school for maladjusted children, where we follow his gradual readjustment as he acquires confidence in the principal of the school, a singularly wise and modest psychiatrist utterly dissimilar to the average deified figure of the movies, in its councilors, and in himself.

Not perhaps the most promising cinematic material, and yet by the intelligent use of the camera and an extraordinary degree of good taste in avoiding the tremolo when playing on the emotional stops, the film succeeds in driving home its message without giving the least indication that it has even tried to deliver one. The photography of the episodes in the Harlem slum is a triumph of discretion. How tempted the director must have been to over-emphasize the squalor, to turn the hero into a sort of colored Oliver Twist. Yet how much more effective this quiet restraint, with the camera's eye picking out much the same detail as would your own if you walked, with no particular sociological purpose and no preconceived notions, through those areas of Harlem—a dirty piece of paper fluttering in the wind across a desolate rubble-strewn plot, or a staircase with crumbling steps and broken banisters glimpsed through a half-open door—until quite suddenly you are overwhelmed with horror and shame.

The film, which I believe won a thoroughly well-merited prize at this year's Edinburgh film festival, has a commentary written and spoken by James Agee, which is as effective and discreet as the material it deals with.

ANTHONY BOWER

This week's feature:
PALESTRINA: Papae Marcelli Mass (St. Eustache Singers) 5-12" Pathe **$13.10**
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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE restored relaxation and equilibrium, plasticity and grace in Toscanini's recent performances can be heard in the performances of some of Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream" music that he recorded with the N.B.C. Symphony a year ago for RCA Victor (DM-1280, $6). Above all in the exquisite modeling, the poised flow of the agitated, impassioned Intermezzo, which is one of the most beautiful things ever put on records—something as completely achieved as the recorded performance of Beethoven's "Leonore" No. 1 Overture. The other performances too offer complete realizations of the forms of the exquisitely imagined and wrought pieces, and of their qualities—the sweetness and innocence, the passion that never exceeds. With one exception: the Nocturne, in which the horn soloist—one of the finest, whom I have heard play with breath-taking tone and phrasing—is unable this time to achieve any continuity of flow. And to make it worse, poor recording causes him to be heard too faintly, and sometimes not even clearly. The other pieces are reproduced with too heavy bass and too weak treble; and the surfaces of my copy are very noisy.

Beautifully reproduced is Mendelssohn's engaging "Ruy Blas" Overture, well performed by Monteux with the San Francisco Symphony (12-0657); Beethoven's "Egmont" Overture is performed straightforwardly by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony, and reproduced with the highs not as strong as they should be (12-0288); and excellent playing by an assembled orchestra is to be heard in Stokowski's lurid performance of Dvorak's "New World" Symphony (on vinylite DV-25, $11; on shellac DM-1248, $7.25).

From English Decca there is Debussy's "La Mer" performed by Ansermet with his Orchestre de la Suisse Romande (EDA-88, $7.35). Despite a few curious and unconvincing details of tempo (for example, the acceleration five bars after No. 4, the holding back where the score asks for acceleration, beginning five bars before No. 10, the extreme accelerations after Nos. 54 and 55) it is a well-conceived, well-executed, and well-recorded performance, though one without the sustained momentum and the magnificence of sound that Toscanini has accustomed us to.

Real monkeying with tempo is to be heard in Furtwängler's performance of Brahms's Second Symphony with the London Philharmonic (EDA-89, $11.55), where it throws whole sections of movements out of proper relation to the rest (for example, the excessive slowing up in the middle section of the second movement, which continues well into the return of the opening theme). There are surprising roughnesses in the playing of the orchestra, which is reproduced with poor balance—the violins being weak and not brilliant even in *fortissimo*, and veiled in *piano* passages.

On Decca singles are the delightful Introduction and Bridal Procession from Rimsky-Korsakov's "Le Coq d'or," well performed by the London Symphony under Coates, and with the violins reproduced weak (K-1330); and Brahms's "Academic Festival" Overture, well performed by the same orchestra under Clemens Krauss, and reproduced with heaviness of bass (K-1726).

Columbia has issued Mozart's Symphony in E flat, performed by Szell and the Cleveland Orchestra without a trace of the sensuous beauty and grace which the lovely work should have, and made worse by a recorded sound which, for lack of sufficient bass, is wooden and shallow, with the violins sharp and coarse (MM-801, $4.75). Also a heavily graceless, poorly paced performance of Haydn's Symphony No. 94 ("Surprise") by Sargent and the Liverpool Philharmonic, reproduced with boomy bass (MM-781, $4.75).

On the other hand Columbia has given us a beautifully sensitive performance by Von Karajan and the Vienna Philharmonic of Mozart's Symphony K. 319, a minor work with some charming passages (MM-778, $4.75). And a somewhat burly but otherwise good performance of Haydn's Symphony No. 88 by Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra, with fine playing by the orchestra that is reproduced with a cavernous, boomy bass and violins which appear to recede into the distance when they play softly (MM-803, $4.75).

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Letters to the Editors

Atom Bomb and Blow-Pipe

Dear Sirs: Recent news dispatches stated that the latest operations against the Communists—actual and so-called—in Malaya were to include the employment on the British side of Dyak head-hunters from Borneo. These, bewildered and astonished, no doubt, but full of glee at the prospect of rarer sport than was enjoyed even by their remote ancestors, were brought, with their blow-pipes, by plane from the Borneo jungle—or from as near as the plane could get to it.

As you ponder this, and you will do well to ponder it, it may strike you that we are at last getting down to fundamentals in the matter of human slaughter. On the one side, the atom bomb with its instantaneous mass destruction of the guilty and the innocent alike; on the other, the Stone Age blow-pipe, its dart poisoned with the venom of the jungle snake, bringing slow death by long-drawn-out torment to whatever living thing it touches. Lewis Carroll or Jonathan Swift could hardly have outdone this picture.

MARC T. GREENE

Auckland, New Zealand, January 10

Memo to the President

Dear Sirs: Charles M. LaFollette has resigned as the United States military governor of Württemberg-Baden, the middle state in the American zone in Germany, to return to his home in Evansville, Indiana.

LaFollette has held that post for slightly over a year, during which time, according to the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* "he has made a record which should help to guide the future of our occupation policy." He has been a tough-minded governor, says that newspaper, "with a notable lack of sympathy for German actions that violate" the democratic principles in which he believes. For example, LaFollette set aside a mayoralty election in the Swäbishe Gemünde because the winning candidate had made use of anti-Semitism in his campaign; and he, alone among American officials, raised his voice "against the German denazification court that freed Hjalmar Schacht, and . . . applauded the Denazification Ministry in his state when it vacated the court decision. These are not the gestures of an official who wants to be popular," the *Courier-Journal* continues, "but they add up to a conviction which the Germans came to respect. He admonished them to quit talking about democracy as a 'luxury.' "

Democracy has never been born in a major nation on a full stomach [LaFollette told the Germans]. The women and children crying for bread before the Palace of Versailles on the eve of the French Revolution were not well-fed and living in luxury. American troops fighting in the American Revolution were on the verge of starvation almost to the day of final victory in 1781. . . .

As I see it, my task here is to see that the bright new green sprouts of democratic thought are not scythed down by nationalism or fatally stricken by totalitarianism until they are strong enough to stand by themselves.

Although there may be some question about the wisdom of the re-industrialization of Germany—and I think there is considerable question about its wisdom at this early stage—no one who knows Charles LaFollette can question the humanitarianism behind those efforts of his which have raised industrial production in Württemberg-Baden to "80.6 per cent of the 1936 figure, the best record in the American zone," according to the *Courier-Journal.*

I have known Charles LaFollette and his charming wife for ten years or so, and I have watched him grow from a conservative Republican into one of the very few outstanding liberals in the Republican Party. That, of course, is not to say that Charles LaFollette came to accept the liberal point of view on every issue during his years in Washington, for that he unfortunately did not do. But it is to say that in four short years—in the Seventy-eighth and Seventy-ninth Congresses—as Representative from Indiana's Eighth Congressional District, LaFollette firmly established himself as a fighting liberal Republican statesman of national stature. He fought the powerful insurance lobby—at the risk of a lucrative part of his own law practice, I understand—and he took politically courageous, liberal stands on such issues as labor and civil rights. He was in those years, indeed, too liberal, too uncompromising for the Old Guard leaders of his party, and as a consequence in 1946 he lost the nomination for United States Senator to William E. Jenner, who was elected and now serves faithfully the Old Guard which put him in office.

Charles LaFollette is still a young man (fifty-one). His ability and varied experience in government, and above all his unquestionable integrity and courage and constructive humanitarianism, demand that he be not allowed to retire to private life, for the American people require the stimulating services of a man such as he. I very much hope that his decision to come home is a decision to return to political combat on the domestic scene, where once again he can make life uncomfortable for the anarchronistic politicians of his own or any other party. Pending such time as he can again run for high elective office, is there not some appointive post in the federal government in which Charles LaFollette can render the cause of democracy at home the distinguished service he has rendered it in Württemberg-Baden?

PAUL J. SCHEIPS

Ann Arbor, Mich., January 14

Do Oil and Education Mix?

Dear Sirs: The British government has hitherto shown no particular interest in American education, but there are indications that this attitude has begun to change. Since the United States has assumed greater responsibility in world affairs, it is of obvious importance to other powers that we appreciate and understand their particular interests and positions in certain areas of the world. The Middle East is a case in point.

The oil companies have been quick to agree on a common policy. There is more than enough oil in the Persian Gulf area to go around. It is to the common interest of ARAMCO (Arabian-American Oil Company), the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, and the Iraq combine to work together to regulate supply and prices for mutual benefit. The British government holds the majority of shares in the Anglo-Iranian Company, but ARAMCO is privately owned. So the possible fly in the ointment, the American government and public, have to be "educated" about the Near East.

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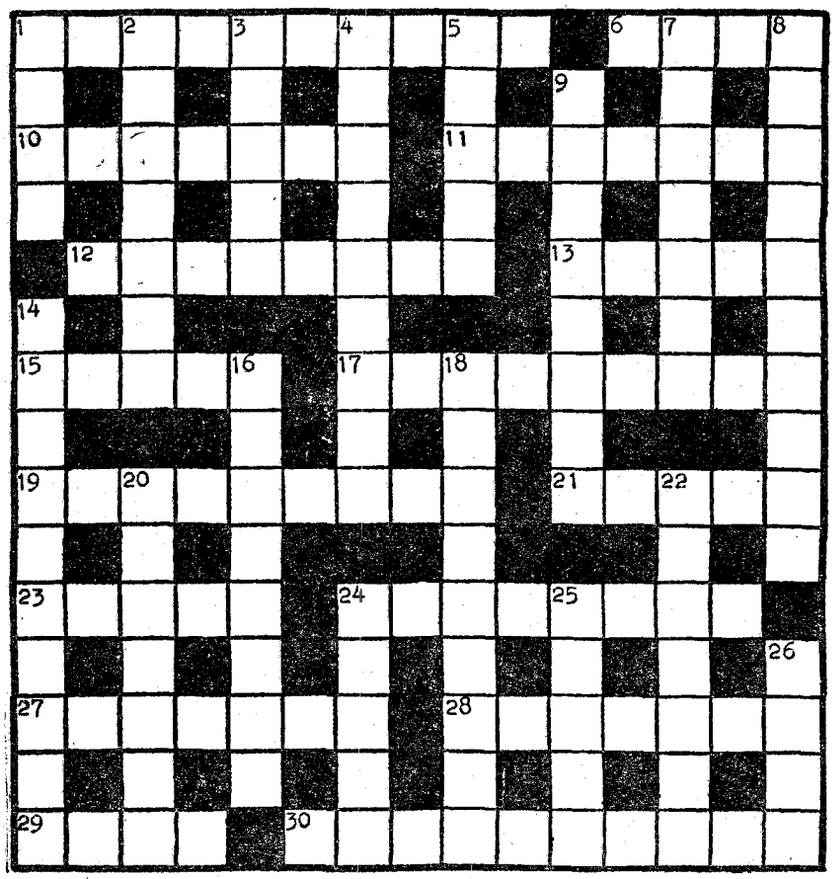
Crossword Puzzle No. 298

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 No yard would be big enough for such an animal. (10)
6 A Gael should always make such a charge. (4)
10 Sounds somewhat like 24 across? Fine! (7)
11 Are in the mint in Turkey and other neighboring countries. (7)
12 Part of some campuses? Rave on! (8)
13 Even the Gold Coast has to have capital. (5)
15 A small department, but proficient. (5)
17 This is simply unspeakable. (9)
19 Things which are 1 across are not necessarily like this, even if forewarned. (9)
21 Reputedly filthy and cruel. (5)
23 The least one might expect of an electrician. (5)
24 Would never be left behind on the animal described in 1 across! (8)
27 This guy surmounts many obstacles, though quite a bounder. (7)
28 1,000,000 is, but is that bad? (7)
29 Most people expect to return to it eventually. (4)
30 If 19, would one also be this, or only prudent? (10)

DOWN

1 Becomes D'Orsay, for example, if doubled up. (4)
2 Its use is to sort of pour. (7)
3 Baseball players are sometimes in the right. (5)
4 Car to miss, for a change. (9)
5 Take me up to the opera, if you want to find a busy little fellow. (5)
7 Sort of meal to a horse? It's a pipe! (7)
8 Its lines are 1 across. (10)
9 Perhaps fine results if you do such things! (8)
14 Coals from Newcastle would be for us, if the analogy isn't. (3-7)
16 Not 5 o'clock dances for the brewers. (3, 5)
18 Insurance does. (9)
20 Desperate, when last vacation spots. (7)
22 The clod is covered with it. (7)
24 This city has far to go. (5)
25 Tail to head, these animals had an afternoon. (5)
26 Naturally enough, he flew south. (4)

≈=≈

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 297

ACROSS:—1 ANTAGONIST; 6 EMMA; 10 STENTOR; 11 CORELLI; 12 RAMP; 13 CAMBRIC TEA; 15 CASERNS; 16 TEL AVIV; 17 ORCHIDS; 20 FURLONG; 22 TORRENTIAL; 23 STET; 25 TYMPANI; 26 COULOMB; 27 ENDS; 28 OGLETHORPE.

DOWN:—1 ABSTRACT OF TITLE; 2 THERMOS; 3 GATE; 4 NORMANS; 5 SACKBUT; 7 MOLOTOV; 8 and 14 ANIMAL, VEGETABLE, OR MINERAL; 9 ARTILLERY; 18 CAROMED; 19 SITTING; 20 FIANCEE; 21 OUTDOOR; 24 MUSH.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

In 1946 an institute for the study of the Middle East was founded in Washington, D. C. Most of the teachers are State Department employees who devote a few hours a week to lectures. The only permanent, full-time professor is an Englishman who is well known for his decidedly pro-Egyptian sentiments.

ARAMCO is now searching for an American university which will cooperate with it in founding another Middle East Institute, similar to the one in Washington or to that at Princeton University. Of greater interest is the desire of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to invest some money in an American institution of higher education to further a better understanding of the Middle East.

Is oil being poured over the clear water of education?

JAMES F. LAWLOR

New York, January 17

Just Whose Blunder?

Dear Sirs: The conservative press in our country has harped on the so-called blunders of the late President Roosevelt ever since the end of hostilities in 1945. According to a few frustrated newspaper publishers and columnists, President Roosevelt made inexcusable mistakes at the Yalta and Teheran conferences, where he met with Stalin and Churchill.

However, Rear Admiral Zacharias (U. S. N., Ret.), former Deputy Chief of Naval Intelligence, reports to the contrary in the January issue of *United Nations World:*

At Yalta [he says] diplomacy was fused with the military necessities of the Japanese campaign, and Roosevelt proved a masterful coordinator of the two. When Stalin underwrote the Pacific war, the President gained for his military advisers on the Joint Chiefs of Staff the one and only concession they expected from Yalta. Eventual Russian participation in the war against Japan was a promissory note the Joint Chiefs had been holding since Teheran, in 1943. Since September, 1944, they had been urging Roosevelt to collect on it. They stood behind him at Yalta, reminding him every day, and urging him in no uncertain terms, to present the note—now.

When Stalin at last agreed to honor the note, Roosevelt was relieved. The Joint Chiefs, in their own detached way, were jubilant.

This excerpt clearly indicates that if there was any blundering at Yalta and Teheran, it was the military leaders—not President Roosevelt—who blun-

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dered. These military men, according to reliable reports, are responsible for the present difficulties encountered in China, Greece, and Europe.

JOSEPH A. PRACHAR

Berwyn, Ill., January 12

Correspondence Department

Dear Sirs: Thanks to your kind cooperation in printing my request for names last fall, the Anglo-American correspondence group I had envisioned has become an unqualified success.

The response from Great Britain, however, was so enthusiastic that I have found myself with an excess of some twenty-five British names. Consequently I am again appealing to you to aid me in the meeting of this challenge to Americans of good-will. Should any more of your American readers be interested in corresponding with Britons on political and cultural subjects, I shall be glad to supply them with names and addresses. My address is 518 East Summer Street, Appleton.

RAY J. KINDER

Appleton, Wis., January 17

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ern d I am de-
sirous of from him, as
well as anecdotes, and any other material pertaining to him that may be available.

I am also preparing a volume of letters and other writings of John Marin, American painter, and should be grateful to receive whatever Marin letters or other documents relating to him may be available.

All material will be carefully returned by registered mail. Photostats of originals will be welcome in all cases. My address is 124 East Seventieth Street, New York City.

DOROTHY NORMAN

New York, January 13

CONTRIBUTORS

IRVING M. ENGEL is a New York lawyer. He contributed an article, Justice Black after Seven Years, to *The Nation* of October 7, 1944.

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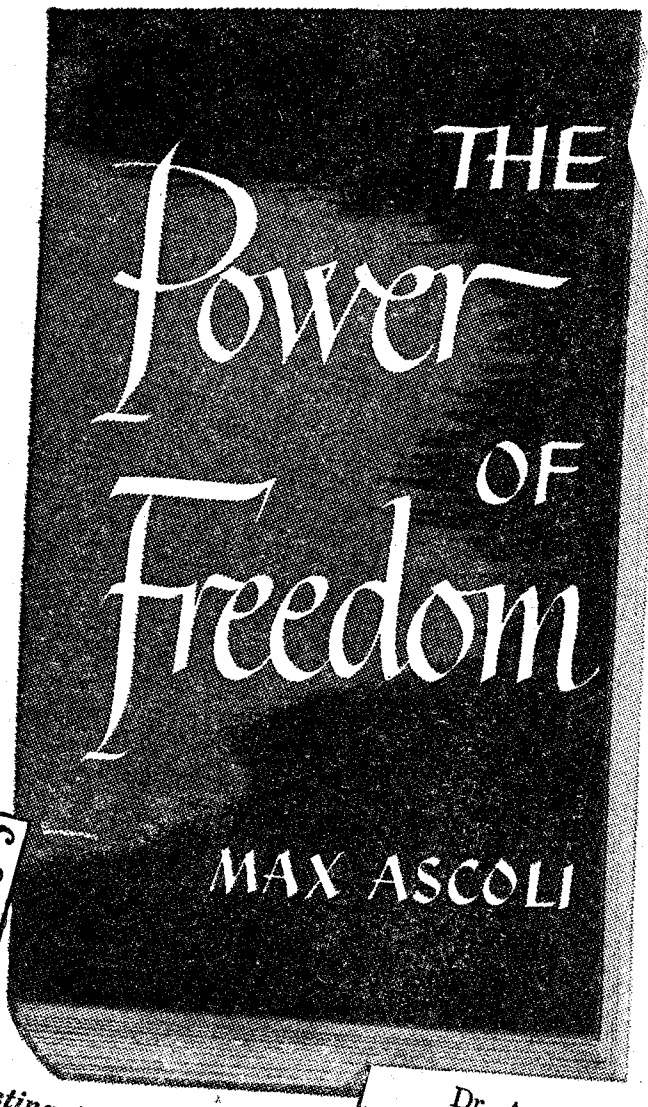

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